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ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

BY GEORGE GRUB, A.M.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER LI.

FROM THE PROCLAMATION OF 19TH FEBRUARY, TO THE DISPUTE BETWEEN
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IMMEDIATELY after the protestation at Stirling, the leaders of the party opposed to the king's measures began openly to assume a new position in the state. Hitherto they had appeared in the humble attitude of supplicants to the established authorities: still retaining the profession of devoted attachment to their sovereign, they now openly assumed the powers of the government. To enable them to do so with

efficiency and with safety, it was necessary to devise some bond of union among their adherents, stronger than that which had hitherto connected them. They met at Edinburgh, and their deliberations resulted in the framing of the document known as the National Covenant. It consisted of three parts—first, of the Confession drawn up by Craig in 1581, and sanctioned at that time and afterwards by royal proclamation and the authority of the ecclesiastical courts; secondly, of a recital of various acts of parliament in favour of the Reformed religion; and, thirdly, of a bond or covenant by which the subscribers became bound to defend the true Reformed religion, and to forbear the practice of all novations and corruptions in the worship or government of the Church, until the same should be approved of in a free assembly and parliament; expressing their belief that the innovations complained of in their petitions were contrary to the Confessions of 1560 and 1581, to the intentions of the reformers of religion, and to acts of parliament, and tended to the re-establishment of Popery and tyranny, and the subversion of the true Reformed religion; declaring that the Confession so renewed was to be interpreted, as if every one of the novations complained of were therein expressed, and that the subscribers were obliged to detest and abhor these novations amongst other particular points of Popery abjured—swearing also to maintain the foresaid true religion and the king's person and authority, and to stand by each other in defence of the same against all sorts of persons whatsoever; and promising for themselves and their families to be good examples of all godliness, soberness, and righteousness, and of every duty to God and man.¹

The National Covenant was drawn up by Henderson and Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, and revised by Rothes, Loudon, and Balmerino. There can be no doubt that, in preparing this document, they chiefly looked to the example which had been given by the Lords of the Congregation during the regency of Mary of Lorraine. Some of the more moderate of the ministers were alarmed by the tenor of the Covenant—by its apparent condemnation of the form of church government and the ceremonies to which they had vowed

¹ Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 9-13.

obedience, and its sanction of armed resistance to the royal authority ; but their scruples were removed by the persuasions of Rothes, and by some alterations which were made in the original draft. The Covenant was publicly subscribed at Edinburgh on the twenty-eighth of February. The people assembled in the Greyfriars' church and churchyard ; Henderson commenced the proceedings with a prayer, and Loudon made an oration. The first person who signed was the Earl of Sutherland, and he was followed by an immense multitude of both sexes and of all ranks and ages. Copies were immediately afterwards sent through the whole kingdom, and great numbers subscribed and swore with every demonstration of enthusiasm. On the other hand, the Covenant, soon after its promulgation, was formally condemned by the Universities of St. Andrews and Aberdeen.¹

Many persons in all parts of the country were averse to the Covenant, but few had the courage to oppose it openly. The committee which sat at Edinburgh decided everything according to their own discretion, and the royal authority was unable to protect those who remained faithful to the crown. The jurisdiction of the bishops was practically at an end ; the Perth articles could not safely be observed even by those who were willing to conform to them ; and the party, which a few weeks before had made it a chief accusation against the prelates that they sought to enforce measures destitute of the proper civil and ecclesiastical authority, now openly forbade obedience to the laws which had received the sanction of the Church and State.

On the same day that the Covenant was signed at Edinburgh, the primate wrote from that city to excuse his absence

¹ Large Declaration, pp. 72, 73. Rothes's Relation, p. 70-80. Baillie, vol. i. pp. 52, 53. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. i. pp. 43, 44. Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. ii. p. 372-376. Baillie, who himself at first had some difficulty in subscribing, soon afterwards used all his persuasions to overcome the objections of Dr. Strang, Principal of the College of Glasgow. "Our main fear," he wrote, "to have our religion lost, our throats cut, our poor country made an English province to be disposed upon for ever hereafter at the will of a Bishop of Canterbury, these our fears are builded mainly upon the withdrawing of our brethren's hands and countenances from us, in that cause which we conceive to be most necessary at this time." (Letters, vol. i. pp. 66, 67.) If one learned man could thus write to another, it may be conjectured what arguments were used with the common people.

from a meeting of the council which was to be held at Stirling, and advised that the Book of Common Prayer should be laid aside, rather than that trouble should be brought on the Church and kingdom. Even the most zealous and courageous of the prelates were obliged to abandon the use of the Liturgy in their own cathedrals. As early as November of the previous year, it had been given up at Brechin. On Sunday, the eleventh of March, the Service Books in the cathedral of Ross were carried off and destroyed, and Bishop Maxwell was obliged to leave his diocese. In the beginning of the same month, the council, having met at Stirling, stated that nothing further could be done to stop the tumults; expressed an opinion that the Service Book, Canons, and High Commission, were the causes of the whole; and agreed to send the Lord Justice Clerk to the king, with their entreaty that he would take trial of his subjects' grievances, and not urge the books in the meantime. None of the spiritual lords attended the meeting except the Bishop of Brechin, but the instructions to the Justice Clerk, in terms of these resolutions, were signed, not only by the prelate just named, but also by the primate, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Dunblane, and Galloway.¹

Livingstone mentions that, when the tumults began in regard to the Service Book, and still more when the greater part of the nation subscribed the Covenant, the cause why his voyage to America had been hindered became apparent. Blair and he had continued to reside for some time in Ulster, but, warrants for their apprehension having been issued by the Irish government, they went over to Scotland and remained with their friends there, especially with Dickson at Irvine. Immediately after the Covenant was sworn to at Edinburgh, it was resolved by the leaders of the popular party to communicate with their English and Scottish confederates at London, and to send them copies of the document. Livingstone was selected as a fit messenger, and he himself tells us that, to avoid discovery, he rode in a gray coat and a gray Montero cap. In consequence of an accident on the way which disfigured his face, when he came to London he kept his chamber, but his letters were delivered by Eleazar Borthwick,

¹ Baillie, vol. i. appendix, p. 459-463. Spalding, vol. i. pp. 82, 86, 87. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 34-36.

another Scottish preacher and envoy of the Covenanting party. He was visited by several of the English nobility, but, within a few days, Borthwick came and told him that he had been sent by the Marquis of Hamilton to let him know that the king had been overheard saying that he was come, and that he would endeavour to put a pair of fetters about his feet. In consequence of this intelligence he hastened to return to Scotland.¹

During the month of March, the Covenant continued to receive signatures in all parts of the kingdom. When arguments failed in persuading the clergy and people to subscribe, intimidation and violence were used without scruple, particularly at Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Lanark. The state of matters at this time is described in a letter, addressed to Bishop Leslie of Raphoe by David Mitchell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, a zealous supporter of the Liturgy. He mentions the probability of his soon being obliged to leave his charge, and accept the offers of assistance which the bishop had made to him. The greater part of the kingdom, he adds, had subscribed, and the rest were daily subscribing the Covenant; the clergy who refused were exposed to such odium that they could hardly appear in the streets; nothing was expected but civil war: though the Service Book, Canons, and High Commission should be discharged, their opponents would not rest there; other designs were contemplated.²

The Justice Clerk proceeded to London in terms of his instructions, and was soon followed by Traquair, Lorn, and others of the nobility, and by the primate, and the Bishops of Ross, Galloway, and Brechin. On the twenty-eighth of April, a paper was sent to the Scottish lords at court, containing a statement of the grievances of the Covenanters. It was signed by the Earls of Rothes, Cassillis, and Montrose, and it avowed the farther measures which were now in contemplation. It expressly stated that the recalling of the Service Book, Book of Canons, and the late act of High Commission, would not be sufficient. It demanded that the High Commission should be entirely abolished; com-

¹ Life of John Livingstone—Select Biographies, edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. i. p. 156-160. Life of Robert Blair, p. 146-155.

² Large Declaration, p. 75. Baillie, vol. i. p. 66, and appendix, pp. 463, 464. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. i. p. 45.

plained of the Perth articles, of the civil offices and places in parliament held by churchmen, and of the oaths exacted from ministers; and required that a lawful and free national assembly and a parliament should be summoned.

About the same time, a communication was sent to the Scottish bishops at London and the English primate by the Bishops of Edinburgh, Dunblane, and Argyll, and others of the clergy in Scotland. It mentioned that the moderator of the presbytery of Edinburgh had been changed, and that the moderators of presbyteries throughout the kingdom were in the course of being removed to make way for others; that several presbyteries had ordained ministers without consent of their bishops; that various ministers, banished from Ireland on account of non-conformity, had been admitted to benefices; that Samuel Rutherford had returned from the North and resumed his former station; that the town council of Edinburgh had chosen Henderson to be helper to Andrew Ramsay, one of the ministers, and intended to admit him without their bishop's permission; that the ministers of Edinburgh, and others who had not subscribed the Covenant, were reviled and ill-treated, and were refused payment of their stipends. In the event of an agreement with the nobles, they entreated the king's favour for those who should be unlawfully deposed; and, in the event of violent measures being taken for repressing the disorders, they requested that some special means should be devised for the safety of those who stood for God and his majesty. These complaints and apprehensions were fully justified by the proceedings of the Covenanters. It appears from a letter, written by Traquair to the Marquis of Hamilton in the middle of May, that the ministers from Ireland preached the most seditious doctrines; that the clergy who refused to read the Covenant to their congregations were summoned before the presbyteries and deposed; and that gentlemen who declined to subscribe were excluded from the communion.

The king, after anxious consideration of what was reported

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 38-42. *Hardwicke Papers*, vol. ii. p. 107. See also the interesting series of letters, in *Lord Hailes' Memorials*, addressed by a person using the feigned name of John de Maria to some one of high rank, apparently the Duke of Lennox.

by the Justice Clerk and the counsellors; and stated by the prelates, called to his closet the Archbishops of Canterbury and St. Andrews, and the Bishops of Galloway, Brechin, and Ross. They found the Marquis of Hamilton with the king; and his majesty announced his intention of sending that nobleman to Scotland as High Commissioner. The Archbishop of St. Andrews expressed his approbation of the choice, and, on the marquis asking what the prelates expected him to do, they answered, that all they desired was that he should endeavour to procure the peace of the country and the good of the Church. On his requesting their assistance in Scotland for that purpose, they excused themselves on account of the hazard to which they would be exposed. Hamilton promised to stand between them and any danger, so far as was in his power, and, on Laud adding his entreaties to the same effect, it was agreed that they should go.¹

The nobleman thus selected for the difficult task of restoring tranquillity to the Scottish Church and kingdom was James, third Marquis of Hamilton, son of the marquis who presided at the parliament which ratified the articles of Perth, and great-grandson of the Duke of Chatel-herault, who was regent during the minority of Queen Mary. Charles loved and trusted him more as a brother, than as a kinsman and subject. He had given a remarkable proof of his confidence, some years before, when he requested the marquis, who was one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, to pass the night in the royal apartments at the very time he was accused of treason by Lord Ochiltree. Since that time, Hamilton had commanded the Scottish auxiliaries in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, without acquiring much distinction as a soldier. On his return, he was welcomed by Charles with all his former affection, and was present at the coronation of the king at Holyrood; but he had hitherto taken little part in the political affairs of his native country.

A proclamation was prepared, to be taken by Hamilton to Scotland, by which the king promised that he would not press the Canons or Service Book, except in a fair and legal manner; that he would rectify the High Commission; and that he would excuse all that was past, if his subjects would

¹ Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, pp. 42, 43. Large Declaration, p. 77.

renounce and disclaim their factious bonds ; but that those who declined to do so would be reputed as traitors. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, as chancellor of the kingdom, had prepared another form of a proclamation, in which no express renunciation of the Covenant was demanded, but Charles was peremptory, saying that, so long as the Covenant was not passed from, he had no more power than a Duke of Venice. The advice of Spottiswood was however followed in the instructions given to Hamilton. Specific answers were also given to certain questions put by the commissioner to the king, and he was requested to correspond regularly with his majesty and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The instructions were signed at Whitehall on the sixteenth of May.¹

In the meantime, the leading nobles and ministers were using every effort to unite the whole kingdom in support of the Covenant. Many had declined to subscribe it, but there was only one quarter in which the opposition was likely to be formidable. The clergy of Aberdeen, particularly the doctors of the university, remained firm in their attachment to their sovereign and the Church, and were strenuously encouraged and supported by the Marquis of Huntly, the most powerful nobleman in the north of Scotland. Among the earliest assailants of the new Covenant were Dr. Robert Baron and Dr. John Forbes. The latter composed a short treatise, entitled "A peaceable warning to the subjects in Scotland." It was dedicated to the Marquis of Huntly, and was chiefly intended to shew that the Negative Confession of Craig had ceased to be binding on Church or State, and that its renewal was not expedient. The work was first circulated in manuscript, but, objections having been taken to some expressions as too harsh, the author soon afterwards caused a revised edition to be printed and published at Aberdeen.

George, second Marquis of Huntly, had succeeded to that title on the death of his father in 1636. The first marquis,

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 43-52. Burnet says, "With my lord of Canterbury, he [the Marquis of Hamilton] kept a constant and free intercourse ; and whatever that archbishop might have been formerly in Scottish affairs, being abused by persons who did not truly represent them to him, he was certainly a good instrument this year, which appears from his letters to the marquis, with the copies of his returns, which are extant." It is to be regretted that so few of these letters are printed in the *Memoirs*.

notwithstanding his repeated abjurations of Popery, died in the communion of the Church of Rome. His son, by the express order of King James, had been brought up at court along with Prince Henry, and Charles, then Duke of York, and carefully instructed in the principles of the Church of England. He afterwards commanded the company of Scottish Guards in France. He was a member of the privy council, but had not been admitted to any active share in the government of the kingdom. Those indeed, by whom the royal authority was administered, had treated his father with little respect, if not with positive injustice, in connection with the judicial inquiries regarding the mysterious burning of the tower of Frendraught. The Covenanters were aware of the importance of securing the co-operation of this great noble. Colonel Robert Monro, an officer who had lately returned from Germany, and whose family were on good terms with the Gordons, was sent by the Earl of Rothes to Huntly, to persuade him to join with the rest of his countrymen, and to threaten him with the vengeance of their whole party in the event of a refusal. The marquis was well aware that this was no idle menace, but he did not hesitate for an instant. He answered that his house had risen through the kings of Scotland, and had always been faithful to them; that he would not depart from the way of his predecessors, but would stand or fall with the monarchy.¹

The Marquis of Hamilton commenced his journey in the end of May, and on the sixth of June presented his commission to the council at Dalkeith. He soon ascertained how difficult was the task which he had undertaken. All the southern provinces of the kingdom were under the control of the Covenanters. They had ordered supplies of arms from the Continent, and threatened to take possession of Edinburgh Castle, which was unprovided with sufficient means of defence. The commissioner had requested the friends and vassals of his house to meet him at Haddington, but they were forbidden by the Covenanters to attend on their lord. No reliance could be placed on the privy council; the fidelity of Lorn, in particular, was suspected, and the king's advocate,

¹ Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. i. p. 48-50. Patrick Gordon's Short Abridgement of Britain's Distemper, pp. 13, 14.

Sir Thomas Hope, hardly concealed his close connection with the discontented nobles. Matters bore so threatening an aspect, that Hamilton did not venture to publish the royal proclamation, knowing that it would immediately be protested against, and that he had no means whatever of enforcing it.

The commissioner for some time declined to leave Dalkeith, but was at last prevailed on to take up his residence at Holyrood. He set out for Edinburgh on the ninth of June, and was met without the walls by a large body of the nobility and gentry on horseback, and by an immense concourse of the people, including several hundred ministers. He endeavoured to ascertain from their leaders what they would expect in satisfaction of their complaints, and whether they would agree to renounce the Covenant. They objected to entering on particulars, referring every thing to a general assembly and parliament, and refused to give up one tittle of the Covenant, asserting, according to the Large Declaration, that they would sooner renounce their baptism. Understanding that on Sunday the commissioner and council were to attend divine service, after the English form, in the chapel royal, the Covenanters sent intimation that whoever should read that service once should never do so again; and Hamilton, afraid of a disturbance, gave up his intention. They even wrote to all the members of the council, calling upon them to subscribe the Covenant, and the only concession they would make was an unsatisfactory explanation of that document.

Hamilton informed the king of the steps which he had taken, and stated that his majesty should either be prepared to concede all the demands of his subjects, or to suppress the movement by force. Charles ought already to have been aware of this, but he was still doubtful and perplexed. The tumults against the Liturgy had now ended in open insurrection against the crown, and he was unable to punish the disaffected. Until he could equip a fleet, and raise an army in England, for the maintenance of his rights, any movement among his faithful subjects in Scotland would only lead to their own destruction. Betrayed by his counsellors, deserted by those on whom he had relied, his authority insulted, and his deepest feelings outraged, Charles adopted a line of con-

duct which has too often been practised in similar cases, but which was never more signally and severely punished than in his. He instructed his commissioner to temporise with the Covenanters till he should be in a position to vindicate his royal authority. The motives which induced him to act in this manner would probably be better understood if Burnet had given us Hamilton's letters as well as those of the king.

Instructions were sent to the marquis not to delay longer to make known the royal proclamation; but, in order to conciliate the people previously, especially the inhabitants of the capital, the courts of justice were again allowed to meet at Edinburgh. This concession was very favourably received, and the Covenanters, in order to take away its effect, demanded that Sir Robert Spottiswood, son of the primate, President of the Court of Session, and Sir John Hay, Clerk Register, whom they accused of bribery and corruption, should be removed from their offices. The commissioner, as they probably expected, refused to comply unless they would proceed in the regular way to prove their charges. Soon afterwards, the royal declaration was proclaimed at Edinburgh, but the part, in which the king announced that if his commands were disobeyed he would be obliged to enforce obedience, was in the meantime omitted, and a statement was substituted, that he would most unwillingly use the power entrusted to him to reclaim his disobedient people. The document thus published was rather an apology for the king's own conduct than a denunciation of the proceedings of his opponents, but the reception it met with shewed no corresponding abatement of pretensions on the part of the Covenanters. On the fourth of July, the day appointed for the proclamation, as soon as the trumpets sounded at the market cross, the people assembled in great numbers; a scaffold was quickly erected; and the leaders of the insurgents appeared with a protestation prepared and written out. On the proclamation being published, the protestation was read; and the Earl of Cassillis, in name of the nobility, Alexander Gibson, younger of Durie, in name of the barons, the Provost of Dundee, in name of the burgesses, John Ker, minister at Salt-Preston, in name of the ministers, and Archibald Johnstone, the reader, in name of all who adhered to the Covenant, took instruments in the hands of

notaries, and tendered a copy of the paper to the royal herald. The protestation itself was little else than a tedious repetition of their former statements; abounding in professions of the greatest reverence for the king; and announcing their firm resolution to persist in their present course till the grievances complained of were considered in a general assembly and parliament.

A few days after the proclamation, Hamilton intimated his intention of returning to court, in order to confer personally with the king, and receive his final instructions. On this being known, some of the more violent of the Covenanters proposed that a general assembly should immediately be summoned by their own authority. This, however, was overruled, but the commissioner was informed that, if he did not return by the fifth of August with a favourable answer to their demands, they would hold themselves entitled to take what course they thought best.¹

During the months of April and May, the counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Inverness, and Murray, had generally submitted to the Covenant. In those northern districts, many of the ministers were unwilling to subscribe, but they were over-awed by the great nobles and chiefs—the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Berriedale, eldest son of the Earl of Caithness, the Lord Lovat, the Lord Reay, and others. The members of the town council of Elgin requested leave to sign with a protestation that they might have liberty to kneel at the Communion, but, on this being refused, they signed unconditionally.²

Almost the only place in Scotland which continued after midsummer to oppose the Covenant was the town of Aberdeen. In order to gain this last stronghold of loyalty and Episcopacy, the Tables sent thither several commissioners,

¹ Large Declaration, p. 77-110. Baillie, vol. i. p. 74-93. Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 52-65. Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, vol. i. p. 63-80. Burnet (*Memoirs*, pp. 58, 59) mentions that Spottiswood approved of an explanation of the Covenant, and seems to attribute to him the authorship of a paper substantially the same with that rejected by the king: see Large Declaration, pp. 108, 109. This statement of Burnet is repeated by Rushworth (vol. ii. p. 753), but the only foundation for it seems to have been that the primate had copied in his own hand what was probably a draft of the paper prepared by the Covenanters.

² Rothes's Relation, p. 104-110.

among whom were the Earl of Montrose, the Lord Cupar, the Master of Forbes, Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys, and three ministers, Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, the last of whom was minister at Pitsligo in the diocese of Aberdeen. These commissioners came to Aberdeen on Friday, the twentieth of July. According to the hospitable custom of the burgh, the magistrates sent some of their number to offer them what was called "the courtesy of the town," or "the cup of Bon-Accord," being a collation of wine and other refreshments. The commissioners refused to partake of the municipal hospitality, unless the Covenant were first subscribed; and the magistrates, displeased with the churlish answer, ordered the refreshments which they had prepared, to be distributed among the poor.

The doctors of the university had been informed of the proposed visit of the commissioners, and had prepared a series of questions regarding the lawfulness of the Covenant, and the authority by which it was imposed. These demands, fourteen in number, they sent to the three ministers on the evening of the day on which they arrived, and requested answers to them. The demands were signed by the six doctors, Forbes, Scroggie, Leslie, Baron, Sibbald, and Ross, who had concurred in the judgment regarding the points in dispute between the Lutherans and the Reformed. They were also signed by Dr. William Guild, one of the ministers of the church of St. Nicholas, a weak, time-serving man, who soon yielded to the arguments and threats of the Covenanters, and whose name was not subscribed to the papers which followed. The three ministers sent an answer to these demands on the evening of Saturday, the twenty-first, and at the same time requested leave to preach in the churches of the city on the following Sunday. This application was refused by the Aberdeen clergy, who said that they did not choose that their people should listen to doctrines different from those they had received from their own pastors. Failing in this attempt, the ministers preached from a gallery in the court of the Earl Marischal's house in the Castlegate, then occupied by that nobleman's sister, Lady Pitsligo, "a rank Puritan," as she is styled by Spalding. Their eloquence produced little effect, except on those who were already disposed to join their party.

The doctors prepared replies to the answers of the Covenanters, and had them ready for the press on Tuesday, but delayed publishing them for a few days, that the ministers might have an opportunity of revising their papers. As no alteration was made, the replies were printed, and a copy was sent to the ministers on the return of the commissioners to Aberdeen, from which they had been absent for a week endeavouring to obtain subscriptions to the Covenant in other parts of the diocese. In the beginning of the following week, the commissioners left Aberdeen, and Henderson and Dickson, on their way southwards, remained for some days with Sir Thomas Burnet at his house of Muchalls in the Mearns. There they composed an answer to the doctors' replies, which was printed in the middle of August. The controversy was closed by the publication of duplies, signed by the six doctors. The demands, answers, and replies, were soon afterwards re-printed at Edinburgh, with a declaration prefixed from the Marquis of Hamilton, denying an allegation made by the three ministers, in their answers to the demands, that he had expressed himself satisfied with the explanation of the Covenant which had been sent to him before he returned to London.

A brief abstract of the fourteen demands may be given. The doctors asked, What warrant there was for requiring subscription to the Covenant, and enforcing a particular interpretation of the Negative Confession, since the commissioners were not sent by the king, or his council, or a national synod, or any other lawful judicatory? Whether they ought to subscribe the Covenant, when all covenants of mutual defence, by force of arms, among the king's subjects, without his consent, were expressly forbidden by the parliament of 1585? Whether, even if acts of parliament might be contravened in extreme cases, such a case had now arisen? By whom was the Negative Confession to be interpreted? Whether they could subscribe the Negative Confession with a good conscience, seeing that, as interpreted by the framers of the Covenant, it made a perpetual law concerning external rites of the Church, which God had not made? Whether it was fit to subscribe an interpretation in matters of faith, which was opposed to the judgment of many eminent Reformed divines, and to that of the ancient Church? Whether it was agreeable

to charity and piety, to require them to abjure those rites as Popish, which, in the sincerity of their hearts, they had hitherto practised as lawful and laudable? Whether it was fit to swear to defend the king's person and authority, only under limitations? Whether they could swear to maintain the king's authority, and at the same time swear disobedience to those articles which were authorized by his standing laws? Whether they ought to swear to a Covenant which took away all hopes of a free assembly and parliament, by making persons swear beforehand to adhere to one side of the question? Whether full satisfaction would be given by their subscribing the National Confession, ratified by parliament in 1567, which they were ready to do? Whether the outrages, sustained against all form of law by those of their brethren in the holy ministry who continued in obedience to the laws of the Church and kingdom, were allowed by the commissioners; and, if not, why the actors had not been censured? Whether they could subscribe the Covenant without the scandal of dissenting from other Reformed Churches, and from antiquity, and also the scandal of perjury in regard to those who at their admission to the ministry had sworn obedience to the articles of Perth, and to their ordinary? And, lastly, seeing they had all these scruples, and that they were assured of the lawfulness of the articles of Perth, and of the lawfulness and venerable antiquity of episcopal government, how could they, with a safe conscience, allow those to preach in their pulpits, who came professedly to withdraw their people from that which in the inmost thought of their souls they embraced as lawful, and from obedience to their gracious and pious sovereign, whose late proclamation had given them entire satisfaction?

In their answers, the Covenanting ministers adopted a tone for the most part moderate and conciliatory. They drew a distinction between innovations sought to be introduced, such as the Service Book, Canons, and High Commission, which were expressly abjured as points of Popery, and those already introduced, like Episcopacy and the Perth articles, of which the practice was only to be forborne till their lawfulness was tried in a free general assembly.

In some points, the arguments of the doctors were weak-

ened, or made inconsistent with each other, by their fear of condemning the practices of the Scottish reformers, and of the Reformed Churches on the Continent. In regard to the sacraments, however, they disregarded this scruple, admitting that the Scottish Church proceeded on a different principle, and entertained a different belief. Thus, while they disclaimed the opinion imputed to them, that without baptism God cannot or will not save any—maintaining that, where it is earnestly sought for but cannot possibly be had, the prayers of the parents and of the Church are accepted in its stead—they, at the same time, distinctly professed that they themselves taught, and their people learnt, that baptism was the ordinary means of entrance into the Church, and of regeneration, to the use of which they were tied by God's commandment.

In the middle of August, the Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly, came from court, and brought with him a letter addressed by the king to the magistrates and council of Aberdeen, and another to the doctors, thanking them for the manner in which they had acted at the visit of the Covenanters. Similar letters were also sent by the Marquis of Hamilton.¹

¹ On the subject of the proceedings at Aberdeen, see, in addition to the papers between the doctors and the ministers, Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, vol. i. p. 82-96; Spalding, vol. i. p. 91-100; and Garden's *Life of Dr. John Forbes*, p. 35-40.

CHAPTER LII.

FROM THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE DOCTORS OF ABERDEEN AND THE COVENANTERS IN JULY AND AUGUST, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY ON THE 21ST OF NOVEMBER, 1638.

Dr. Balcanquhal, Dean of Rochester—Increased demands of the Covenanters—The Service Book, Canons, and High Commission recalled—The Negative Confession authorized by the King—The Bishops abandon their dioceses—Archbishop Spottiswood resigns the Chancellorship—Imposture of Margaret Mitchelson—Subscription of the Negative Confession—Explanations by the clergy of Aberdeen—Preparations for the General Assembly at Glasgow—Instructions sent by the Tables for the election of Commissioners—Complaint against the Bishops—Character and object of the charges.

ON his arrival at court, Hamilton gave the king an account of all that had taken place in Scotland. He received new instructions, permitting him to summon both an assembly and a parliament, under certain limitations intended to preserve as much of the established ecclesiastical polity and ritual as possible. At his suggestion, and in order to counteract the effects of the Covenant, the king agreed to sign the Confession of 1560, and to publish it along with a bond to be subscribed by all his subjects, by which the subscribers were to swear to maintain the Confession, and to defend the king's person and authority; and the laws and liberties of the kingdom against all persons whatsoever.

The marquis returned to Holyrood on the tenth of August, and brought with him, as his chief adviser in ecclesiastical matters, Dr. Walter Balcanqual, Dean of Rochester. This divine, as already mentioned, had attended the synod of Dort as one of the envoys of King James, and for his services in that capacity and otherwise was promoted to the deanery of Rochester. His zeal for the Church was undoubted; his learning and ability were considerable; and Burnet speaks in high terms of his eloquence as a preacher. He was well known at Edinburgh, not only from his connection with the

city by birth and parentage, but as one of the executors of the will of George Heriot, in which capacity he had drawn up the statutes for the government of the hospital founded by that munificent burgess. He had accompanied Hamilton as chaplain when he came to Scotland in June, but he does not seem on that occasion to have been entrusted with the sort of official character which he now bore.

When the commissioner arrived at Edinburgh, he found that the discontented party were making still higher demands than before. They were determined to abolish Episcopacy and the Perth articles, and to force the Covenant on all persons under the pain of excommunication. They now avowed the very principles which their envoys had disclaimed a few days before in their controversy with the doctors of Aberdeen. Hamilton announced the king's intention to call an assembly and parliament, in the manner recognised by the laws and practice of the kingdom; but this gave no satisfaction, and, as the Covenanters threatened to summon these courts by their own authority, he again asked a delay of twenty days to consult with his master. Before leaving Scotland, the marquis held a conference with the Earls of Traquair, Roxburgh, and Southesk. They agreed to offer certain articles of advice to the king. The substance of these was, that the Service Book, Canons, and High Commission, as being the cause of all the distractions, and generally held to be illegal, should be absolutely withdrawn; that the practice of the five articles of Perth, as being generally disliked, should be forborne till approved by an assembly and parliament; and that, though Episcopacy was the form of church government most agreeable with monarchy, yet the unlimited power assumed by the lords of the clergy should be remitted to the consideration of the general assembly. They farther recommended, as the best means of restraining the disorders in the kingdom, that his majesty should authorize the Negative Confession and bond, which had been signed by his father; and, if this was done, they were confident his subjects would receive so much satisfaction, that, if any still stood out, they would easily be repressed by his power within the kingdom, independently of any assistance from other quarters. They concluded by advising that a free pardon should be granted for all that was past.

This counsel represented truly enough the opinions of the three earls who joined in it. Indifferent to the whole church system in its religious character, they disliked it on account of the authority which it conferred on the bishops. Sincerely attached to the monarchy, but loving still better their own aristocratical privileges, they had yet to learn that the concessions which they recommended were destructive of both. But the very motives which actuated his timid and selfish nobles should have led Charles instantly and decidedly to reject the fatal advice they gave. In so far as the Liturgy, Canons, and High Commission, were concerned, that advice was both just and prudent; but the other points really involved the adoption by the king of that very Covenant which he had so strongly denounced. It was besides unworthy of the sovereign to seek to support his kingly authority by copying the proceedings of his own rebellious subjects.

When the proposal was first submitted to Charles, he saw its true aspect. The remedy, he said, was worse than the disease. Hamilton admitted the strength of the arguments against it. He stated that he himself could hardly subscribe the Confession without straining his conscience, and that for several reasons, but chiefly because, in disclaiming Transubstantiation, the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist was rejected, which he could not sign, unless with the addition that by *real*, he understood *corporal*. But the Covenant, he said, was the idol of Scotland, and he saw no other course by which order could be restored. He also admitted the many inconveniences likely to follow from calling an assembly, and presented a written statement of these to the king. This account, Burnet tells us, was so full that, when Bishop Maxwell was sent by the prelates to remonstrate against the summoning of an assembly, his majesty answered, that he had used no argument which the marquis had not already laid before him. Hamilton's conduct on this important occasion is characteristic of the principles which governed his whole proceedings. Direct treachery has never been proved against him; but, had he been the traitor which so many accuse him of having been, he could not have done more injury to the king's cause, than by his inconsistent and irresolute advice, alternately prompting the king to rash and hasty denials of

his subjects' petitions, and to still more dangerous concessions of everything which they demanded.

The king, at last, allowed his judgment and conscience to be overborne, and on the ninth of September signed instructions still more full and ample. By these he absolutely revoked the Service Book, Canons, and High Commission; discharged the practice of the Perth articles, notwithstanding the act of parliament commanding them, promising, if the three estates should think fit to repeal the act, that he would give his royal assent to such repeal; authorized and enjoined the lords of the council to subscribe the Negative Confession and bond annexed thereto, as formerly signed by King James, commanding them to take order that all his subjects should also subscribe; declared that no person, ecclesiastical or civil, should be exempt from trial and censure by the parliament and assembly acting in due form of law; stated his willingness that episcopal government should be limited in a manner conformable to the laws of the Church and kingdom; and promised pardon to all who should rest satisfied with these concessions, and act in future as dutiful subjects. The commissioner was directed to endeavour, as far as possible, that the election of members of the assembly should proceed as in the reign of the late king; but, if that could not be obtained, he was still to go on, and to call an assembly and parliament at such time and place as he might think best, except that the assembly was not to sit at Edinburgh. The following was the tenor of the fifteenth and sixteenth instructions:—"You must, by all means possible you can think of, be infusing into the ministers what a wrong it will be unto them, and what an oppression upon the freedom of their judgments, if there must be such a number of laics to overbear them, both in their elections for the general assembly and afterwards. Likewise you must infuse into the lay lords and gentlemen, with art and industry, how manifestly they will suffer, if they let the presbyters get head upon them." Unlawful as the means were by which the Covenant was enforced, and unscrupulous as were the leaders of the Puritanical party in stirring up the people against their sovereign, these two articles admit of no justification.

On the same day, instructions were also signed for the guid-

ance of the commissioner in regard to the bishops. He was to communicate to them the king's pleasure about the Service Book, Canons, and High Commission, the articles of Perth, and Episcopacy, and they were to be directed to repair to Newcastle, Morpeth, or Berwick, so that they would have it in their power to proceed to Scotland without delay, in order to defend their own cause in the assembly, or to consult with the commissioner; and the Archbishop of St. Andrews was to be asked to resign the office of chancellor, for which, however, he was to obtain reasonable compensation.¹

The struggle was now in name as well as in reality between the king and the Covenanters. It was indeed impossible for the latter to make further use of their original pretext that the bishops were the cause of the quarrel. The prelates were still the objects of popular hatred, but their power was entirely gone. As a body, they did not venture on any public act, and it is not easy to trace their individual proceedings. The Bishops of Aberdeen and Murray had remained in their dioceses, and the former prelate was still supported by the greater number of his clergy. The Bishops of Edinburgh and Dunblane continued for some time to reside in the capital, where they were joined by the primate and the Bishop of Galloway about the beginning of June; but the Bishops of Ross and Brechin did not venture to come further north than Berwick. From that town Bishop Maxwell wrote to Hamilton on the twenty-ninth of June. This letter shews how helpless the condition of the prelates was in all respects, but the calm courage, the piety and resignation which appear in its simple, unaffected language, are honourable to the writer. After the departure of the commissioner in July, Spottiswood was so much alarmed that he returned to England, and Sydserf appears to have followed him thither. The terror of the primate was not without foundation. Baillie mentions that the Covenanters were proposing, if they could find sufficient cause, to have him excommunicated, and afterwards put to death. It is not indeed likely that the leading men of the party contemplated any such atrocious proceeding, but some of their followers would have required little encouragement to begin the new Reformation with the murder of an archbishop.

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 65-75.

When Hamilton set out for Scotland after receiving his instructions of the ninth of September, he visited Spottiswood and the other prelates, who appear to have been then residing at Ferrybridge, in Yorkshire. They heard of the king's intentions with great dissatisfaction, and remonstrated against what they saw would be fatal to the cause of Episcopacy. On the wishes of the king regarding the chancellorship being communicated to Spottiswood, he expressed his willingness to acquiesce, and it was agreed that he should receive two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, as a compensation. On the sixteenth of September, Charles himself wrote to the archbishop intimating his pleasure, but the resignation was not formally completed till the middle of November.¹

The commissioner returned to Holyrood on the seventeenth of September, and on the twenty-second the king's proposals were approved of in council, and a proclamation was made, announcing the royal intentions regarding the Service Book, Canons, High Commission, and Articles of Perth, enjoining subscription of the Negative Confession and bond, and appointing a general assembly to meet at Glasgow on the twenty-first of November, and a parliament at Edinburgh on the fifteenth of May. The Covenanters endeavoured in vain to prevail on Hamilton to delay the proclamation. They were afraid that the royal concessions would satisfy the people, and that the king's Covenant would neutralize the effect of their own; and their fears seemed for some time to justify the worldly prudence of the advice given by Hamilton. Failing in their attempt to persuade the commissioner, the Covenanters, as on former occasions, assembled in large numbers at the market cross of Edinburgh; and, when the proclamation was made, a protestation was read by Johnstone. It objected to the royal declaration, because it did not expressly condemn all the former proclamations, and because it limited the freedom of the general assembly by its reference to Episcopacy and the Perth articles as still to some extent in force; and more particularly it objected to the order for signing the Negative

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 62, 63, 78, 79, 89. Baillie, vol. i. pp. 78, 88. Hardwicke Papers, vol. ii. p. 110-112. Crawford's *Officers of State*, pp. 186, 187. Russell's *Life of Spottiswood*, prefixed to the Spottiswood Society edition of his *History*, p. xlv-xlvii.

Confession, because such subscription now would be inconsistent with the more solemn Covenant which they had already sworn, and by which they were determined to abide. It is only necessary to read this protestation, to see that any concession on the king's part, short of an absolute surrender of the whole ecclesiastical system established by law, and of his own royal prerogatives, would now have failed to satisfy the persons by whom the measures of the popular party were directed. Under ordinary circumstances, this must have been manifest to the people themselves, but their religious and political feelings were so excited, and the country was so entirely under the control of the Tables, that few wished or dared to refuse their concurrence in any measure which the leading nobles and ministers enjoined.

Hamilton appears to have done his best to procure subscriptions to the Negative Confession. After it had been signed by himself and the council, commissions were issued for obtaining signatures in all parts of the kingdom. The council also addressed a letter to the king, in which they thanked him for his gracious concessions, and promised to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in maintaining his authority, and in repressing all who should attempt to disturb the peace of the Church and kingdom. This letter was signed by the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earls of Traquair, Roxburgh, Marischal, Mar, Murray, Linlithgow, Perth, Wigton, Kinghorn, Tullibardine, Haddington, Annandale, Lauderdale, Kin-noul, Dumfries, and Southesk, Viscount Belhaven, the Earl of Angus, the Lords Lorn, Elphinstone, Napier, Dalzell, and Almond, Sir John Hay, Sir Thomas Hope, Sir William Elphinstone, Sir James Carmichael, Sir John Hamilton, and Sir Archibald Stewart.¹

About this time the Covenanting leaders, not satisfied with the means hitherto used for keeping up the popular agitation, had recourse to a singular artifice for that purpose. A young woman, of the name of Margaret Mitchelson, an enthusiast in their cause, and who was subject to hysterical attacks, was prompted or taught to assume the character of a prophetess, to speak in the most rapturous terms of the proceedings of her

¹ Large Declaration, p. 134-173. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 79-81.

party, and to denounce the acts of its opponents, especially the king's Confession. This imposture or delusion was for some time appealed to as a testimony of heaven in their favour, but, on its true character becoming known, the Puritans, ashamed of the fraud, would have been glad if the matter had been entirely forgotten.¹

The commissioners continued to apply for signatures to the king's covenant, and Burnet mentions that twenty-eight thousand in all were obtained, of which twelve thousand were procured by means of the Marquis of Huntly. The only part of the kingdom from which none were obtained was Argyllshire, though the power of Lorn, who had himself subscribed, was supreme in that district. Huntly attended in person when the royal declaration was published at Aberdeen. There also, as at Edinburgh, a protestation was made, but the popular feeling was very different. The declaration was read at the market cross by the Rothsay herald on the fifth of October. What followed may be related in the words of the contemporary chronicler, Spalding:—"The proclamation ended, the marquis gave a great shout, saying, God save the king, then peaceably left the cross. But immediately the Lord Fraser, with the Master of Forbes, came to the same place where the marquis stood, and made protestation against the same set down in writing, and took instruments, throwing the paper wherein the protestation was written out of his hand in the air, and gave also a great shout, saying, God save the king. The people cried out with great joy at the marquis's shout, but few or none cried out with the Lord Fraser."

The northern laity had little objection to sign a Confession recommended by their sovereign; but among the clergy, as might have been expected from their ecclesiastical principles,

¹ Large Declaration, p. 226-228. Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 83. Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, vol. i. pp. 131, 132. Mr. Brodie (vol. ii. p. 502) expresses a suspicion that the whole account of Mitchelson's proceedings was a forgery of the author of the Large Declaration. But the statements of that work are confirmed by Gordon, as well as by Burnet; and it is very improbable that Balcanqual, by whom the Declaration was drawn up, would have invented and published such a narrative, the year after the incident was said to have occurred, and when the Covenanters could so easily have contradicted it. See also Mr. Napier's remarks on this subject—*Montrose and the Covenanters*, vol. i. p. 529-531.

and from the opinions which they had lately maintained in the dispute with the Covenanters, the Negative Confession was by no means acceptable. They regarded it as the king himself did when it was first suggested by Hamilton; and the Bishop and doctors of Aberdeen agreed to sign it only at Huntly's special request, and with the following explanations:—"First, we do heartily abhor and condemn all errors truly Popish, or repugnant to the Holy Scripture, and consequently to the uniform doctrine of the Reformed Churches, and to our National Confession registered in parliament in the year 1567. Secondly, we do noways hereby abjure or condemn episcopal government, as it was in the days, and after the days of the Apostles, in the Christian Church, for many hundreds of years, and is now conform thereto restored in the Church of Scotland. Thirdly, we do not hereby condemn or abjure the five Perth articles, or anything lawful of that sort, which shall be found by the Church conducive at any time for good policy and order, or which is practised by any sound Reformed Church. Fourthly, we still hold to that clause of our great National Confession (Chapter 20, Article 21), that the general councils, and consequently the national Church of Scotland, have no power to make any perpetual law, which God before hath not made. Fifthly, by the adhering to the discipline of the Reformed Church of Scotland, we mean not any immutability of that Presbyterial government which was in the year 1581, or of any other human institution; but we do hereby understand that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and discipline of the Church of Scotland doth not depend on the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign power; and hereby we do confess our constant obedience to the Church of Scotland, in all her lawful constitutions. Sixthly, we do not presume by this our personal oath, either to prejudge the liberty of the Church of Scotland to change and reform this foresaid short confession in some ambiguities and obscure expressions thereof, whereupon some men have builded inconvenient interpretations and doctrines, or to exempt ourselves from obedience to the Church in that case. Seventhly, by this our personal oath, we do not take upon us to lay any farther bond upon our posterity than the word of God doth, recommending only our example to them, so far as they shall find it agreeable to God's

word. In this sense, as is said, and no otherwise, do we subscribe the said Confession, and the general bond annexed thereunto.”¹

The attention of all persons was now fixed on the approaching assembly. Glasgow had been approved of by the king as the place of meeting, at the suggestion, there can hardly be a doubt, of Hamilton. The chief estates of that nobleman were in the neighbourhood, and his influence was considerable in the university, and among the better class of citizens; but he might have known, from what had already occurred, how little his feudal authority availed when opposed to the prevalent excitement. Aberdeen was recommended by Spottiswood as a more fitting place, and the Covenanters were alarmed by a report that his advice had been followed. It is very doubtful whether, so long as the power of the Tables continued, and with such a commissioner as Hamilton, the result of the assembly would have been different wherever held; but Aberdeen would certainly have given many advantages to the king. The loyalty of the inhabitants and the influence of the house of Gordon would have counterbalanced the presence of the lay commissioners of the Covenanters and their followers; and the doctors of the university, with the prospect of a fair hearing, would have maintained the cause of their Church and sovereign. As it was, Hamilton earnestly requested the Aberdeen clergy to come to Glasgow. Burnet mentions that he was to have sent one of his own coaches for them, but that they were so averse to the journey that he ceased to urge them, especially as he saw “it was resolved that, though an angel from heaven should come to plead for Episcopacy, all would be rejected.”²

Matters were now in such a state that it is hardly to be wondered that the supporters of the hierarchy gave up the contest in despair. Even before the assembly was summoned, the Covenanters had taken steps to secure the return of such members as were devoted to their cause. On the twenty-seventh of August, directions had been sent to the presbyteries how to proceed. These directions contained a copy of an act

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 86, 87. Spalding, vol. i. p. 113.

² Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 75, 84. Baillie, vol. i. pp. 103, 104. Garden's *Life of Dr. John Forbes*, p. 44.

of assembly made at Dundee, in 1597, whereby it was ordered that three brethren, at the most, and one commissioner for the barons, should be sent by each presbytery to the assembly, and also one commissioner for each burgh, except Edinburgh, which was to return two. A form of commission was sent, containing an express censure of the innovations complained of. Each kirk-session was directed to send one of its lay elders to vote at the election of clerical and lay commissioners for the presbytery. It was enjoined that all who were erroneous in doctrine, or scandalous in life, should have charges brought against them, so that they might not be elected commissioners; and if, notwithstanding, they should still be chosen by the majority, the well-affected minority were to protest, and come to the assembly to testify the fact. It was also ordered that the moderators of presbyteries should not, as such, be commissioners.

Along with these public instructions, certain private directions were given, ordering informations to be made against all the bishops; requesting the ministers to be ready to dispute on the contested points of church government and ceremonies; and suggesting that the full number of commissioners should be chosen in well-affected presbyteries, but as few as possible in others, that the well-affected should not divide their votes but agree to the same persons, and that in the elections all members of chapters and of the High Commission, and all who had countenanced the Service Book, should be avoided.¹

The important nature of the points involved in these instructions is obvious. It was proposed, notwithstanding the desuetude of many years, to restore the lay elders to the position which they formerly held, and that not only in the general assembly, but also in the presbyteries. As each kirk-session

¹ Large Declaration, p. 129-131. Baillie, vol. i. appendix, p. 469-472. The points on which the ministers were requested to be prepared to dispute were well selected. They were the following:—"De Episcopatu; de senioribus; de diaconatu; de potestate magistratus in ecclesiasticis, præsertim in convocandis conciliis, et qui debent interesse in conciliis; de civili jurisdictione ecclesiasticorum, eorumque officiis in civilibus; de rebus adiaphoris, et potestate magistratus in illis; de Liturgia præscripta; de ritibus Ecclesiæ, seu Liturgia Anglicana; de Sacramento; de corruptelis Liturgiæ, et Libro Canonum; de quinque articulis Perthensibus, &c."

was to send an elder to the presbytery, and all members of the latter court were to vote for the whole commissioners, whether clerical or lay, the new lay members would be able, with the assistance of one or two of the clergy, to return what representatives they pleased; and, by excluding the moderators as such, the representatives of presbyteries were made wholly elective. The injunction to proceed against erroneous and scandalous ministers was intended to prevent the choice of all who were favourable to Episcopacy, or the Perth articles; and the proposed information against the bishops themselves was a step preparatory to the complete subversion of the hierarchy.

When the elections came on, the instructions of the Tables were carried out by their adherents, and, although in some presbyteries the members refused to admit their new lay colleagues, their opposition was generally overborne or disregarded, and such commissioners were chosen as were named by the popular party. The Covenanters, at the same time, proceeded to censure and suspend several of the clergy who had remained faithful to the Church. The Presbytery of Edinburgh particularly distinguished themselves in this way. They summoned David Mitchell before them for alleged erroneous doctrines, and, notwithstanding his appeal to the approaching assembly, the express prohibition of the royal commissioner, and the offer of the Bishop of Edinburgh to bring him before a court composed of himself and certain of his clergy in terms of law, they suspended him from his function, and deprived him of his office as one of the ministers of the city.¹

The Tables, encouraged by the uniform success which had attended their efforts, now prepared a formal accusation against the bishops. They requested Hamilton to issue a warrant for citing them before the assembly, but he declined to do so, mentioning that they must proceed in a legal way, and that it was enough he did not seek to protect the accused from a fair trial. They then applied to the Presbytery of Edinburgh either to try the prelates, or to refer the matter to the general assembly, presenting for that purpose a bill or complaint, drawn up in name of certain noblemen, barons, burgesses, ministers, and others, on behalf of themselves, and of all subscribers to the Covenant, who were not commissioners to

¹ Large Declaration, pp. 191, 205, 206. Baillie, vol. i. appendix, p. 475.

the assembly. This complaint was directed against all the fourteen prelates, whom it styled pretended bishops of their several sees. It accused them of breaking the cautions agreed to, respecting ministers' votes in parliament and other points, in the assembly held at Montrose in the year 1600; of transgressing various provisions of the Book of Discipline; of teaching doctrines contrary to the Confession of Faith, and encouraging those who taught certain specified points of Arminianism and Popery; of exacting unlawful oaths and subscriptions from entrants to the ministry; of holding secular offices as members of the privy council, senators of the College of Justice, and the like; of assuming the function of diocesan bishops, of taking consecration in that capacity, and claiming the power of ordination and jurisdiction as due to them in virtue of that unwarrantable office; of introducing the Service Book, Canons, and High Commission, and moving dissension between the king and his subjects. The bill then proceeded to state that the bishops "respectivè" were commonly reported to be guilty of "excessive drinking, whoring, playing at cards and dice, swearing, profane speaking, excessive gaming, profaning of the Sabbath, contempt of the public ordinances, and private family exercises, mocking of the power of preaching, prayer, and spiritual conference, and sincere professors; besides of bribery, simony, selling of commissariot places, lies, perjuries, dishonest dealing in civil bargains, abusing of their vassals, and of adultery and incest, with many other offences," the particulars of which were to be given in specific accusations.

On the twenty-fourth of October, the presbytery, having considered the complaint, referred the same to the ensuing assembly at Glasgow, and ordered it to be read from the pulpit by all pastors within their jurisdiction, on the forenoon of the following Sunday, with a citation to the accused prelates to appear and answer to the charges made against them.

The Large Declaration remarks on the manifest irregularity and injustice of the whole proceeding—of the Presbytery of Edinburgh citing parties over whom, even according to their own ecclesiastical forms, they had no jurisdiction; of persons being accused of breaking laws which had been repealed by subsequent statutes, and called in question for yielding obedi-

ence to acts of parliament and assembly; and of horrible crimes being imputed, of which the accusers themselves did not believe the accused to be guilty. The writer of the Declaration, admitting that if the prelates were guilty of the odious offences last alluded to they were deserving of death, adds, that the accusers, if they failed to prove them, would themselves be infamous throughout all generations; and concludes in the following manner:—"This now is that libel with which the Covenanters did undoubtedly compass their own end, which was to raise up in the people an utter abhorring of the present bishops' persons, and an irreconcilable hatred against both their persons and calling, but with what religion, justice, and honesty, they have effected it, others besides themselves, both in heaven and earth, must judge and give sentence."¹

This proceeding was one of the most disgraceful acts of which the Covenanting chiefs were guilty, and was deliberately carried through, in accordance with an instruction contained in the private directions of the twenty-seventh of August. Aware that they had no proof of the shameful immoralities attributed to the bishops, they put these forward, not as specific charges, but as matters of common report, and professed, in excuse, that it was only meant that the prelates were respectively guilty of one or more of them. They well knew, however, that the people generally would make no minute distinction; and it was not intended that they should.

The Tables did not attempt to conceal their determination that freedom of debate and independent judgment in the assembly should be prevented. They openly issued instructions, by which all noblemen, subscribers of the Covenant, except those of the West who were to be ready on notice given, were to meet on the twelfth of November at Edinburgh, where they were to remain till they should assemble at Glasgow. The commissioners appointed in the several shires were to attend to the common cause, with four gentlemen, at the least, from each presbytery, as their assessors; and two, four, or six persons, from each burgh, were to repair to Glasgow on the seventeenth, to give their advice to the commissioners of

¹ Large Declaration, p. 207-226. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 88.

the burghs. A general fast was also ordered to be kept on the fourth of November. In consequence of these instructions, the privy council, by proclamation, forbade all commissioners to repair to Glasgow with any other attendance than their ordinary retinue, and also prohibited them from appearing with any weapons except those allowed by law. This was answered, as usual, by a protestation, and the Covenanters resorted to Glasgow in large numbers, and in arms. Hamilton could scarcely have expected obedience from avowed adversaries, when the king's advocate, Sir Thomas Hope, on being requested to prepare himself to defend Episcopacy as conformable to the laws of Scotland, positively refused, answering that it was against his conscience to do so, as he thought Episcopacy to be contrary to the word of God, and the laws of the Church and kingdom.¹

On the seventeenth of November, the royal commissioner came to Glasgow, to be ready for the meeting of the assembly on the twenty-first.

¹ Large Declaration, p. 230-232. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 92.

CHAPTER LIII.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY ON THE 21ST OF NOVEMBER, TO ITS CONCLUSION ON THE 20TH OF DECEMBER, 1638.

Meeting of the Glasgow Assembly—Members of the Assembly—Alexander Henderson is chosen Moderator—The Bishops' Declinature—Discussion as to lay elders—The Commissioner dissolves the Assembly—The members continue to sit—The Earl of Argyll joins the Covenanters—The six previous Assemblies declared null—The Book of Common Prayer, Book of Canons, and Court of High Commission condemned—The Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, Brechin, Aberdeen, and Dunblane, deposed and excommunicated—The Bishops of Murray, Orkney, Argyll, and the Isles, deposed—The Bishops of Dunkeld and Caithness deposed from their episcopal, and suspended from their ministerial functions—Nature of the charges against the Bishops—David Mitchell, Archdeacon Gladstones, Dr. Robert Hamilton, William Annand, and Archdeacon Mackenzie, deposed—Conclusion of the Assembly.

THE prelates, having resolved not to recognise the authority of the assembly in any way, had prepared a declinature of its jurisdiction, and a protestation against whatever steps might be taken to their prejudice. As it was desirable that some of their number should be in the neighbourhood to arrange with the royal commissioner in regard to their proceedings, the Bishops of Ross and Brechin had come to Hamilton, where they were hospitably entertained by order of the marquis. From that place they wrote to him, on the twentieth of November, acknowledging his kindness; professing that they would willingly choose a more sober diet, and less ease, considering that their own sins and the difficulties of the times admonished them rather to fast than to feast, to afflict their souls rather than relish any worldly pleasure; and concluding by saying that, though the difficulties were great and the

hopes none, yet their cause was on that account more like to be the cause of God. They were soon afterwards conducted by the marquis's order to the castle of Glasgow. A rumour had been spread that the primate was to come by sea from his retreat at Newcastle, in order to meet his brethren at Glasgow, but he had neither strength nor inclination for such a voyage. It was well for him that he did not venture, for the more unscrupulous of the Covenanters appear again to have contemplated violent measures against him.¹

On Friday, the sixteenth of November, the western Covenanters came to Glasgow, the noblemen being attended by great numbers of their friends and vassals. On the following day, in terms of their previous arrangement, most of the other members of the party arrived. On Sunday, the leading individuals among the ministers met to arrange their course of proceeding, and their deliberations were continued during the Monday and Tuesday. There was some difficulty in regard to the person whom they were to propose as moderator. It was allowed by all that Henderson was best qualified for the office, but, in the event of the bishops and the doctors of Aberdeen appearing to defend the cause of Episcopacy, it was thought hazardous to disqualify their ablest champion from taking part in the debate. It was finally, however, agreed that he should be named, as all others who were mentioned appeared to be in some respects unfit for the office. The assembly met on the twenty-first. For some time, all classes in Scotland, and all in England and Ireland who took an interest in the ecclesiastical and political questions which then occupied the minds of so many, had looked forward to this meeting, and now their attention was anxiously directed to the proceedings which were about to commence. One of Laud's letters to Lord Wentworth is dated, "Wednesday, November the twenty-first, 1638, the day of the sitting down of the assembly in Scotland."

Among the members of the assembly were most of the great nobles who had urged on the movement, and of the preachers

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 92, 93. See also, in regard to the violence threatened to Spottiswood, the singular letter, dated 26th October, 1638 (Hailes' *Memorials*, p. 46), written apparently from Fifeshire, by a correspondent of Johnstone of Warriston using only the signature G.

whose eloquence and zeal, or former sufferings in the cause, had gained for them an influence over their countrymen. The Earls of Home, Lothian, Cassillis, Eglinton, and Wemyss, the Lords Cranston, Yester, Johnston, Sinclair, Lindsay, Burleigh, and Cupar, were present as commissioners for presbyteries. The Earl of Montrose, who had not come forward at the earlier stages of the proceedings, and who, zealous as he had shown himself, was not entrusted with the more secret intentions of the party, was ruling elder for the Presbytery of Auchterarder. The real leaders among the nobility, Rothes, Balmerino, and Loudon, represented the Presbyteries of Kirkaldy, Edinburgh, and Irvine. The first of these noblemen had in his youth been a Roman Catholic, and his opposition to the court was influenced more by political than by religious motives. Balmerino, after having been convicted of treasonable conduct in connection with proceedings which followed the parliament of 1633, was pardoned by the king; but the harshness and injustice of the prosecution not only confirmed his former opinions, but caused him to entertain a deep feeling of personal resentment. Loudon was conscientiously attached to Presbyterianism, and the ecclesiastical principles which he maintained were with him no mere empty profession. The other commissioners of presbyteries were knights and gentlemen, for the most part men of considerable wealth and influence; the representatives of the burghs were burgesses, many of them holding the chief offices in the magistracy, or lawyers, the town clerks of the municipalities. Burnet's statement, that there were some of the lay elders who could neither read nor write, appears to be an exaggeration. One or two of the representatives of the smaller burghs may have been comparatively illiterate, but the greater number of the elders were well educated men.

Among the preachers were Dickson, Rutherford, and Baillie Livingstone, now minister at Stranraer; and Blair, who had been appointed minister at Ayr in room of Annand. Calderwood, who had returned from exile, was also present, but as he had no parochial charge, he was not a member, and only assisted at their consultations.

The foremost person, however, among the ministers was Henderson. He was born in Fifeshire in the year 1583, and was

educated at the University of St. Andrews. In his early years he was a supporter of Episcopacy, and, by the favour of Archbishop Gladstones, was presented to the church of Leuchars. Soon after the death of that prelate he changed his sentiments, and adopted the views of the party opposed to the hierarchy. Nothing has been ascertained regarding the particular circumstances which led to this alteration of opinion. There is a well-known story, which ascribes his conversion to the cause of Puritanism to a sermon of Robert Bruce, whom he went to hear out of curiosity. In this there is nothing improbable, but the statement rests on no earlier authority than a tradition first mentioned by Robert Fleming more than fifty years after the event. The new opinions thus adopted were firmly maintained by Henderson, and for many years under circumstances which are a sufficient warrant for his sincerity. In the Perth assembly of 1618, he took a prominent part in opposing the five articles, and, when they were established, he refused obedience to them. In the year 1619, he was called before the diocesan synod of St. Andrews for not administering the communion according to the prescribed order. He answered that he had acted, not from contempt, but because he was not yet fully persuaded of the lawfulness of the rule. He received an exhortation to obedience and conformity; but it is not stated whether he submitted. So far as appears, no other ecclesiastical censure or punishment of any kind was inflicted upon him. When the troubles began, though he was known to be a firm champion of Puritanism, he was in the undisturbed possession of a parochial cure in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Andrews.¹

The assembly met within the cathedral of St. Kentigern. Notwithstanding the ample dimensions of the church, it was with great difficulty that the members could get their places; so numerous was the crowd that thronged within its walls. Baillie complains in indignant language of their behaviour.

¹ Baillie, vol. i. p. 121-123. Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 98. Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, p. 109-111. *Life of John Livingstone—Select Biographies*, edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. i. p. 161. *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 155. In regard to Henderson, see his *Life* by Aiton, p. 86-104, and Wodrow's *Life of Bruce*, p. 155. Henderson himself has recorded his attachment to Episcopacy in his younger years; see his first paper in the discussion between him and King Charles at Newcastle.

"It is here alone," he says, "where, I think, we might learn from Canterbury, yea, from the Pope, from the Turks, or Pagans, modesty and manners; at least their deep reverence in the house they call God's ceases not till it have led them to the adoration of the timber and stones of the place. We are here so far the other way, that our rascals, without shame, in great numbers, make such din and clamour in the house of the true God, that if they attempted to use the like behaviour in my chamber, I could not be content till they were down the stairs." The royal commissioner sat in his chair of state, and beside him were the members of the privy council; opposite to his seat, was a little table for the moderator and clerk. The noblemen and barons, commissioners of presbyteries, sat at a long table on the floor, and round it, on rows of seats rising one above the other, were the ministers and the commissioners of burghs. At one end was a place set apart for the eldest sons of peers; and the galleries were filled with multitudes of all classes, including a number of ladies. One or two ministers wore gowns; the rest appeared in their cloaks. The nobles and gentlemen were in their ordinary secular habits, and had their swords by their sides.¹

After a prayer by John Bell, one of the ministers of Glasgow, who acted as interim moderator, Hamilton's commission from the king was read. The commissions of the members were subsequently given in, and the marquis proposed that these should be examined before a moderator was chosen, but, on this being overruled by the assembly, he acquiesced. On the twenty-third, Henderson was elected moderator by an unanimous vote. On this occasion, the royal commissioner claimed a right to vote on behalf of six noblemen and gentlemen who had been named as his assessors, but this claim was disallowed, the king being held to have right only to a single vote. Archibald Johnstone of Warriston having been chosen clerk, the commissions of the members were examined. In the course of a discussion connected with a disputed return for the Presbytery of Brechin, the clerk hastily read an approbation indorsed by the Tables on the commission granted in favour of the candidates selected by the Covenanters. Dickson ascribed this approbation to inadvertence, but Montrose

¹ Baillie, vol. i. pp. 123, 124. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. i. p. 157.

with characteristic openness and impetuosity, avowed that it was done intentionally, and professed his determination to abide by it. Some protestations against the votes of ruling elders were entirely disregarded.¹

The royal commissioner repeatedly urged that the bishops' declinature should be read. This was not allowed for some time, on the ground that the assembly was not fully constituted, but it was at last agreed to. The declinature was presented on the twenty-seventh by Dr. Robert Hamilton, minister at Glassford, and bore the signatures of the two Archbishops, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, and Brechin. The subscribers, admitting that a general assembly, lawfully called and orderly convened, was the best means for removing the evils with which the Church was afflicted, represented that they esteemed the present meeting at Glasgow to be unlawful and disorderly, and its proceedings null and void, for various reasons. Among these, the following were the most important :—Because the commissioners to the assembly were chosen in many cases before it was summoned by his majesty ; Because the commissioners for the clergy were elected by laymen ; Because the persons chosen had been disobedient to the king and their ordinaries, and some of them were under censures from the Church of Ireland ; Because laymen, not delegated by the sovereign, claimed a definitive and decisive voice. They protested especially against the illegality and injustice of the complaint given in against themselves, and the other bishops of the Church. They stated that it was against reason and authority that bishops should have no seat in the assembly, unless they were elected by preaching and ruling elders ; and asserted that its proceedings were null, because its moderator and president was neither primate, archbishop, nor bishop, but a person chosen by plurality of voices. They maintained their own lawful calling in virtue of their election by the cathedral chapters, and episcopal consecration with consent of the sovereign, according to the canons and former customs of the kingdom, and of the Church in ancient times ; and denied that bishops could lawfully be judged by presbyters or laics.

¹ Baillie, vol. i. p. 124-138. Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 129-140. Large Declaration, p. 234-247.

Therefore for themselves, and in name of the Church of Scotland, they protested that the assembly should be accounted null in law human and divine, and that all its acts should be esteemed unjust, illegal, and void.¹

It is not explained why the prelates that have been named were the only bishops who signed the declinature. It is probable that the Bishops of Dunkeld, Orkney, Caithness, and Argyll, were unwilling to do so. The Bishop of Dunblane was perhaps hindered by sickness; and there may have been no time to obtain the signatures of the Bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, and the Isles.

The reading of the declinature enabled the royal commissioner to take the step which his instructions empowered him to adopt, and which all that had occurred shewed the uselessness of longer delaying. On the morning of Wednesday the twenty-eighth, he convened the members of the privy council in the chapter-house of the cathedral, and announced his intention of dissolving the assembly. When the assembly met that day, the Covenanters, in answer to some of the reasons in the bishops' declinature, appealed to what had taken place at the condemnation of the Remonstrants by the Synod of Dort. In reference to this, Dr. Balcanquhal, having first asked permission to speak, argued that the authority referred to did not apply; and farther offered to prove, that neither in name nor in reality was a lay elder known to any general or provincial council, or to any particular Church in the whole Christian world, before Calvin's days. Henderson told the speaker that his father had been of a different opinion, and added, that the question as it stood before them was not whether lay elders had ever been received in other Churches but whether their office and place in the assembly was agreeable to the constitution of the Church of Scotland.

When this discussion was finished, Henderson declared that, since both the competency and constitution of the assembly had been openly impugned, it was time to settle the point, of which the members alone could be the judges, and therefore he would put it to the vote, whether they could lawfully decide in the complaint against the bishops, notwithstanding the reasons contained in the declinature. Up

¹ Large Declaration, p. 247-264.

this, Hamilton addressed the assembly. After causing the king's last concessions regarding the Service Book and other points to be read, he mentioned that, since they had brought lay elders to give their voices along with the members, since the ministers there sitting were chosen by lay elders, since the commissioners were named before hand by the Tables, and the bishops were cited to be tried by the very persons who had already prejudged and condemned them, he was now obliged to discharge his duty, and to command them not to proceed further. He then protested that whatever should afterwards be done should not oblige any of the king's subjects, or be reputed as an act of the assembly.

The Covenanters were prepared for this step, and had already resolved to disregard it. Henderson spoke in deferential terms of the king's ecclesiastical authority, calling his majesty the universal Bishop of the Churches in his dominions, but adding that, as the commissioner "had served his master carefully and faithfully in preserving his privileges and prerogatives, so they must needs likewise be faithful and careful in preserving the privileges and prerogatives of the kingdom of the Son of God, which was his Church." Others of the members entreated Hamilton to remain, but he peremptorily refused, and, in language more resolute than before, dissolved the assembly, and departed along with the lords of the council, at the very time that the clerk was reading a protestation against this proceeding.

It was put to the vote whether, notwithstanding the dissolution and the commissioner's departure, they should adhere to their protestation and continue the assembly. All the members voted in the affirmative, except the Lord Carnegie and Sir John Carnegie of Ethie, lay elders for the Presbyteries of Brechin and Arbroath; Dr. John Baron, Provost of St. Salvator's College and commissioner for the University of St. Andrews; Dr. Strang, Principal of the College of Glasgow and commissioner for that university; Andrew Logie, Archdeacon of Aberdeen; Thomas Mackenzie, Archdeacon of Ross; and a few others who refused to sit longer. It was then carried, without a dissentient voice, that the assembly was competent to judge the bishops, and that it was proper to go on with their trial.

On the following day, the royal proclamation dissolving the

assembly was published at the market cross of Glasgow, and was immediately followed by a protestation which was read by Johnstone.¹

The members of the assembly met on the twenty-ninth, and proceeded with the business before them as if no interruption had taken place. Thirty years before, a few ministers who met in synod at Aberdeen in defiance of a royal proclamation, and declined the jurisdiction of the council, had been convicted of treason; but circumstances were now much changed. The cause of Puritanism was triumphant, and its adherents, secure in their numbers and influence, were determined to enforce absolute submission to their authority. An event took place at the meeting of the twenty-ninth, for which the leaders of the Covenanters must have been prepared, but which greatly encouraged their party. The Earl of Argyll had refused to concur with the other members of the council in the proclamation for dissolving the assembly. He was one of Hamilton's assessors, and did not otherwise hold a commission as a member, but he now returned to the assembly, and expressed his satisfaction that he was to be a witness to their proceedings. This great nobleman, the most powerful subject in the kingdom, as Baillie truly calls him, was the son of that Earl of Argyll, who, in his youth, at the head of an army of Highlanders, had fought unsuccessfully at Glenlivet with the Lowland cavaliers of the Roman Catholic lords, Huntly and Errol. That earl had himself in after life embraced the Roman Catholic religion, and was in consequence obliged to resign the greater part of his estates, with the feudal authority and patriarchal rights of chieftainship belonging to the house of Campbell, in favour of his eldest son, the Lord Lorn. Lorn had enjoyed the favour of Charles; had sat in the privy council, and concurred in the acts which were most complained of by the Covenanters; and, when the Service Book, Canons, and High Commission, were recalled, had promised along with the other counsellors to assist the king to the utmost. His dislike to the hierarchy and the ceremonies had never been concealed. In this respect, and in his general lukewarm-

¹ Large Declaration, p. 269-302. Baillie, vol. i. p. 138-145. Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 140-147. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 101-106. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. ii. p. 5.

ness where the interests of the clergy were concerned, he only resembled others of the council, but there can be no doubt that for some time back he had been secretly connected with the discontented party, and had been promoting their measures. Guthrie mentions that, when Lorn repaired to London in the summer of 1638, the Earl of Argyll advised the king not to allow him to go back to Scotland, and that Charles, while he thanked the old nobleman for his counsel, said that having called him up he must be a king of his word and permit him to return. This, however, like others of that writer's stories, appears to rest on his own unsupported authority. On his father's death in the autumn of 1638, Lorn had become Earl of Argyll, and he was now the first openly to forsake his master.¹

Freed from the control which, to some extent, the presence of the royal commissioner, and those who acted with him, had hitherto exercised, the assembly proceeded to carry out the objects for which it had met. It was declared that the last six general assemblies, those of Linlithgow in 1606, and 1608, of Glasgow in 1610, of Aberdeen in 1616, of St. Andrews in 1617, and of Perth in 1618, were unfree, unlawful, and null, and that all their acts were of no force or effect. The chief grounds of nullity alleged were the presence of bishops, noblemen, and others, who had no commission to vote from the presbyteries, the absence of ruling elders, and the undue influence used by the crown in the choice of members, and in the votes of the assemblies. The oaths exacted by bishops from entrants to the ministry were declared to be unlawful, null, and no way obligatory. The Book of Common Prayer was condemned, as illegally introduced, and as repugnant to the doctrine, discipline, and order of the Reformed Church. For similar reasons, the Book of Canons, the Book of Consecration and Ordination, and the court of High Commission, were condemned. It was declared unanimously, one member hesitating but not opposing, that Episcopacy had been abjured by the Confession of 1581, and ought to be

¹ Baillie, vol. i. pp. 145, 146. Guthrie, p. 31. Clarendon, vol. i. pp. 225, 226. The date of Lorn's succession to the earldom is ascertained with sufficient accuracy by a letter from the king to Wentworth (Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 232), dated the 5th of November, 1638, in which he speaks of "Lorn that is now Argyll."

removed. It was agreed unanimously, that the five articles of Perth ought to be removed, and, with one dissentient voice, that they also had been abjured by the Confession; and all disputing for them, and observance of them, were prohibited in time to come. The member who hesitated as to Episcopacy, and voted against the abjuration of the Perth articles, was Robert Baillie. He believed that the articles were not in themselves unlawful, and that there were two sorts of Episcopacy, one, such as then existed, which was a Popish error against Scripture and antiquity, and to be both removed and abjured, the other, such as prevailed in the ancient Church, and in Scotland in the time of Knox, which was to be removed but not abjured.¹

The overthrow of Episcopacy was hardly more important in the estimation of the Covenanters, than the punishment of the individual bishops, and of their chief supporters among the clergy. A special sentence was pronounced against the two archbishops, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, and Brechin, the six prelates who had signed the declinature. They were found guilty of breach of the cautions agreed to in the assembly at Montrose; of receiving episcopal consecration; of urging novations in the Church; and of refusing to answer to the common report of sundry other transgressions and crimes laid to their charge. They were therefore deposed from their office of commissioners for the Church in parliament and council, and from all their functions, whether of pretended episcopal, or ministerial calling. It was likewise ordered that they should be excommunicated, and declared to be of those who are to be holden as heathen men and publicans; and the sentence of excommunication was appointed to be pronounced by the moderator in face of the assembly, in the cathedral of Glasgow, and to be intimated in all the churches of Scotland by the pastors of every particular congregation.

The Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane were found guilty of the same offences, and a similar sentence was pronounced against them.

The Bishops of Murray, Orkney, Argyll, and the Isles were found guilty of the same offences, and were deposed; but

¹ Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, pp. 24-26, 28-33, 161-168. Baillie, vol. p. 157-160.

it was ordered that they should be excommunicated only in the event of their not professing repentance, and making their submission to the assembly.

The Bishop of Dunkeld, who had sent a letter to excuse his non-appearance, was found guilty of the same offences, and was deposed from his office of commissioner in parliament and council, and from his pretended episcopal functions, and suspended from his ministerial functions; but, in the event of his professing repentance, and submitting to the assembly, it was ordered that he should be continued as parish minister of St. Madoes, if otherwise, that he should be excommunicated.

The Bishop of Caithness excused himself from appearing, on account of sickness. He was found guilty as the others, and deposed and suspended in the same terms as the Bishop of Dunkeld; but, in the event of his repentance and submission, it was ordered that he should be admitted to the ministry of a particular flock, if otherwise, that he should be excommunicated.

Such were the formal sentences in the case of the bishops. Those against the six prelates who signed the declinature, and the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane, made reference also to "sundry other heinous offences and enormities, at length expressed and clearly proven in their process." Unless this vague expression be held to be an exception, it is not stated in these sentences that the personal immoralities laid to the charge of the accused were proved. Their condemnation rested mainly on certain circumstances, the truth of which the bishops would at once have admitted, while they would have denied that there was anything wrong or illegal in them. As no formal record of the judicial proceedings regarding the bishops and their adherents was ever published, the particular charges against them can only be learned from the historical narrative of the transactions of the assembly. The following details are chiefly derived from Baillie, and from another contemporary writer of similar principles, whose account is printed by Mr. Peterkin in his *Records of the Kirk*.

The first prelate whose case came before the assembly was Bishop Sydserf. In addition to the general matters contained in his sentence, he was found guilty of sundry points of Popery and Arminianism, and also of many gross personal faults.

These personal faults are not specified, and, from Henderson's speech on the occasion, in which he dwelt on the heinousness of spiritual sins of false doctrine as compared with transgressions of the moral law, it may be conjectured that the bishop's offences were of the former, not of the latter kind.

The accusation against Archbishop Spottiswood is thus mentioned by Baillie:—"St. Andrews' libel was, he was proven guilty, beside his common faults, of ordinary profaning of the Sabbath, carding and dicing in time of divine service, riding through the country the whole day, tippling and drinking in taverns till midnight, falsifying with his hand the acts of Aberdeen assembly, lying and slanderous our old assemblies and Covenant in his wicked book. It was undertaken to prove before a committee, near to the place where the witness has lived, his adultery, incest, sacrilege, and frequent simony." The book here referred to is the "*Refutatio libelli de regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*," written in answer to a treatise by Calderwood. Some of the charges may be explained by the journeys which the primate had frequently to make. The more serious offences should not have been mentioned at all, unless his accusers had been able immediately to bring forward some evidence regarding them.

With reference to Bishop Whitford, the same writer mentions that he was proved guilty of sundry acts of drunkenness, and that a woman and child, who were brought before the assembly, made his adultery "very probable." In connection with the latter charge, Gordon states that the woman referred to was afterwards asked to point out the bishop among several clergymen who were present, and that she fixed on another person.

No acts of personal immorality were alleged against Bishop Lindsay of Edinburgh, and Bishop Bellenden. It was stated that the former wore the rochet, bowed to the altar, consecrated churches, and refused to admit any to the ministry, unless they were first ordained preaching deacons. The latter was accused of simony, of suspending ministers for keeping fasts on Sunday, and of consecrating a private chapel. It was an aggravation of the charges against the Bishop of Aberdeen, that he had at one time been a vehement opponent of Episcopacy.

Against Bishop Maxwell it was alleged, that he bowed to the altar, and wore the cope and rochet; that he had used the English Liturgy for the last two years in his own house and in his cathedral; that he had ordained deacons, given absolution, kept fasts on Friday, and travelled and played cards on Sunday; that he had deposed godly ministers, kept company with profane persons, and was a prime instrument in all the troubles both of Church and State. One of the ministers declared that he was the living example and "perfect pattern of a proud prelate."

Bishop Wedderburn was accused of being a special maintainer of Popish and Arminian opinions; and it was also alleged that he lay under the scandal of drunkenness, swearing, and profaning the Lord's day.

Some charges of grossly unbecoming behaviour were brought against Bishop Guthrie by Andrew Cant, and by Thomas Abernethy, a Jesuit who had lately abjured his religion and subscribed the Covenant, but whose character was afterwards found to be very worthless. Baillie expresses his suspicion, that the accusations against the bishop were not sufficiently proved.

Against Archbishop Lindsay no charges of any importance were made, beyond those common to all the prelates. A short delay was allowed in the proceedings, in the hope that he would submit to the assembly. He is said to have shewn hesitation, but he finally remained firm. Baillie, writing to Spang some months afterwards, attributes the archbishop's constancy to worldly motives, and speaks of him as reduced almost to as miserable a condition as that in which Adamson had died, without pity from many, or great relief from any one he knew. Party spirit and personal vanity had hardened the heart of the minister of Kilwinning. Little more than a year had passed since he had thanked his bishop for favours received far above his deserving, and prayed God to bless him, and continue him for many years as his overseer, expressing the conviction of thousands in the part of the diocese where he lived, that when his lordship should be taken from them, peace and quietness would also leave them.

The complaints against the Bishops of Orkney, Argyll, the Isles, Dunkeld, and Caithness, contained nothing of any moment beyond the usual charges.

While the proceedings were going on in regard to the prelates, the charges were also examined which were brought against some of the most active and zealous of the clergy. David Mitchell was deposed. He was a man of learning, and unblemished life; but his ecclesiastical principles were those of the school of Laud, and he had declined the jurisdiction of the assembly, and refused to give the Presbytery of Edinburgh any other name than that of brethren of the exercise. He was accused of teaching Popish and Arminian doctrines; and Henderson referred to the charge in a manner which shews that he was well aware of the very different nature of the opinions to which the Puritan party gave the common name of Arminianism. "There are two sorts of Arminianism," he said; "one is that which has troubled the Low Countries, and hath spread itself so far, and that is nothing but the way to Socinianism There is another Arminianism, maintained by some in England, and others in Scotland, and that runs in another way—it runs to Papistry, and is inchoatus Papismus: and if ye consider this, how our doctrine and the particulars of our Confession of Faith, taught by the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland since the Reformation, how these points began to be depraved by Arminianism, and points of Popery joined with their points of Arminianism, and next consider how the external worship of God was in changing by the Service Book, I see nothing deficient for the whole body of Popery but the Pope himself—conversion of a sinner—universality of the merits of Christ's death—justification by works—falling away of the saints; and then if we had received the Service Book, what difference had been betwixt the Roman faith and ours, if we had subjected ourselves to the Pope."

Similar charges were brought against Dr. Patrick Panter, Principal of St. Mary's College, and professor of divinity in the University of St. Andrews. He was a scholar of considerable reputation, and Baillie, while condemning his theological opinions, speaks with unusual enthusiasm of his literary attainments. In regard to his manner of teaching, he adds that he "had no sooner settled himself in his chair, than he began to recommend the English method of study to our youth, to begin with the Popish Schoolmen and Fathers.

and to close with Protestant neoterics; a most unhappy and dangerous order." Panter's case was referred to a committee to sit at St. Andrews.

Alexander Gladstones, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, son of the late primate, was deposed. He was charged with drunkenness and other offences, in addition to his theological errors.

Dr. George Wishart, minister at St. Andrews, was accused of deserting his flock for eight months; but the members of his congregation had no complaint to make against his life or doctrine; they wished only that he would return to them, and acknowledge the authority of the assembly. His case also was referred to the committee at St. Andrews.

Dr. Hamilton, who had appeared as procurator for the bishops, was deposed. The following is Baillie's account of what was proved against him, and it throws light on the real meaning of some of the accusations made by the Covenanters:—"He was found to be, according to the English fashion, a profaner of the Sabbath, provoking and countenancing his parishioners at dancing and playing at the foot-ball on that day; he was, as we call it, an ordinary swearer; for the faction delighted, as I have heard sundry of them, to adorn their speeches with the proverbs, Before God, I protest to God, By my conscience, On my soul, and higher asseverations, by these phrases to clear themselves of Puritanism: he was a violent persecutor, even to excommunication and denying of marriage and baptism to those who would not communicate with him kneeling."

William Annand, minister at Ayr, was charged with various immoralities, and with desertion of his flock. His real offences seem to have been his preaching in defence of the Liturgy before the diocesan synod of Glasgow, and his having retracted his subscription to the Covenant. He was deposed.

Thomas Mackenzie, Archdeacon of Ross, and several other ministers, were also deposed for offences of the same nature as those which have been mentioned.

Some of the prelates and clergy may possibly, to a certain extent, have been guilty of the immoral acts laid to their charge, but the only materials which we have for forming an opinion are the manifestly unfair narratives of their opponents. None of the accused appeared to defend themselves, and we do not

even know how far the particular nature and details of their offences were specified, nor on what evidence they were condemned. The circumstance that the formal sentences of deposition against the prelates contain no enumeration of personal crimes is a strong presumption in favour of their innocence. Could such have been proved by reasonable evidence, it is not likely that the assembly would have rested the deposition and excommunication on ecclesiastical offences alone.

On Thursday, the thirteenth of December, the sentence of deposition and excommunication was formally pronounced against the two archbishops, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, Aberdeen, Ross, Brechin, and Dunblane; and the sentence of deposition against their six colleagues. The sentences were read by the moderator in the cathedral of Glasgow, after a sermon preached by him, the text of which was taken from the first verse of the hundred and tenth Psalm. Before the sermon, a portion of the Scriptures was recited, as usual, by the person who officiated as reader in the church. That officer, probably a friend of the archbishop, made choice of the sixteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. John. He had read the opening verses, "These things have I spoken unto you, that ye should not be offended. They shall put you out of the synagogues: yea the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service," when he was interrupted by one of the ministers, and obliged to select another portion of the Scriptures.

The assembly, in its remaining sittings, made various provisions for the better establishment of the Presbyterian form of church government. An act was also passed, ratifying the Covenant, in the sense now affixed to it, as contrary to Episcopacy, and the Perth articles, and the holding of civil places by churchmen. By another act, the assembly forbade all printers to print any of its proceedings, or any ecclesiastical treatise whatever, without the warrant of Archibald Johnstone, clerk to the assembly and advocate for the Kirk. It was declared that the Church had power to hold general assemblies yearly, or oftener if there should be occasion; and the next assembly was appointed to meet at Edinburgh on the third Wednesday of July, 1639. Thursday, the twentieth of December, was the last session of the assembly. On that day

a supplication to the king was agreed to, in which, with professions of the most humble loyalty, they requested his majesty to confirm their acts in the parliament which had been summoned to meet at Edinburgh in May.¹

By the proceedings of the Glasgow assembly, to use the language ascribed to Spottiswood at the signing of the Covenant, all that the king and the bishops had been doing for thirty years was at once thrown down. The work of those years had too often been helped forward by deceit and intimidation, and now its overthrow was accomplished by one great act of fraud and violence. It is needless to speak of the theological authority of the assembly. Even in a moral point of view, its decisions, whether in matters of doctrine and ritual, or in regard to individuals, were entitled to little weight. Most of the objections urged by its members against the six assemblies which it condemned applied in a much stronger degree to its own proceedings. There was neither freedom of election, nor a lawful constitution of the synod itself, nor a calm and deliberate examination of the subjects discussed. Its whole acts were dictated by a few individuals who had arranged everything beforehand, and whose consummate ability and management would be worthy of the highest praise, if they could be considered apart from the manner in which they were exercised, and the ends to which they were directed.

¹ Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, pp. 26-42, 163-193. Baillie, vol. i. pp. 13, 154-176. Balfour, vol. ii. p. 305-316. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. ii. pp. 97-101, 131-175. Mr Peterkin mentions (Records of the Kirk, p. 193) that the words ascribed to Henderson at the close of the assembly, "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho: let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite," are not to be found in any work earlier than Stevenson's History of the Church and State of Scotland, which was written in the middle of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER LIV.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY IN DECEMBER, 1638,
TO THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOOD IN NOVEMBER, 1639.

Hamilton's letter to the King—The decrees of the Glasgow Assembly rejected at Aberdeen—Correspondence between the Swiss pastors and Archbishop Laud—Preparations for war—The Covenanters take possession of Aberdeen—Dean Hanna, Dr. Wishart, Dr. Panter, John Corbet, and others of the clergy, deposed—The army of the Covenanters—Accommodation between the King and the Covenanters—The meeting of a General Assembly and Parliament agreed to—Protestation of the Bishops—Meeting of the Assembly at Edinburgh—Its acts—Submission of the Bishops of Orkney and Dunkeld—Meeting of Parliament—Death of Dr. Ross and Dr. Baron—Death of Bishop Wedderburn—Illness of Archbishop Spottiswood—His interview with the Marquis of Hamilton—His death and character.

ON the twenty-seventh of November, the day on which the bishops' declinature was read in the assembly, Hamilton wrote to the king, explaining his views regarding the condition of Scotland, and the character of the leading statesmen. He mentioned his regret that, notwithstanding the exertions he had used in his master's cause, and though he had strained his conscience in some points by signing the Negative Confession, all had been to little purpose, as he had missed his end in raising a considerable party for the king. He expressed his opinion that his majesty had been grossly abused by the lords of the clergy, in attempting to introduce the Canons and Liturgy in an illegal manner. The pride of the bishops was great, and their folly greater, for, if they had gone right about the work, nothing was easier than to have effected what they aimed at. In regard to themselves individually, it would be found that some of them, as the primate, and the Bishops of Brechin, Argyll, and Aberdeen, had not been the best lives, and that too many of them were inclined

simony ; yet the Bishop of Ross, the most hated of them all, had few personal faults laid to his charge, except ambition, which was not to be accounted a fault, so it was in lawful things.

Speaking of the lay lords, he remarked that Traquair was a person of excellent parts, but had injured his master by aiming too much at popularity, and for that purpose opposing the clergy, in which he was encouraged by others of the council ; that these differences had marred all ; that now, however, he laboured zealously for his majesty, and had often sworn to the commissioner himself that he would spend his life and fortune in defence of episcopal government. The Marquis of Huntly was unknown to the commissioner except in a general way ; he was traduced as inclined to Popery, and was taxed also with personal faults, but he had shewn himself a faithful servant to the king, and would be of greater use when his majesty should have recourse to arms. Argyll was now the only counsellor who was held up as a true patriot, a loyal subject, and zealous for the purity of religion. He would require to be well looked to ; it was to be feared that he would prove the most dangerous man in the state : so far from favouring episcopal government, he wished it with all his soul to be totally abolished. Several other members of the council were described in brief but expressive language. Of the Covenanters, those who had begun the movement and who still maintained it were Rothes, Balmerino, Lindsay, Lothian, Loudon, Yester, and Cranston. Others there were as forward in show, among whom none more vainly foolish than Montrose, but those named were the main contrivers. It was more than probable that the Covenanters had somewhat else in their thoughts than religion : but that must serve for a cloak to rebellion, wherein for a time they might prevail ; though to make them miserable, and bring them again to a dutiful obedience, he was confident would not cost his majesty a long time or great difficulty. He then proceeded to explain how this could best be effected.

Hamilton wrote as if his life was in danger from the Covenanters, mentioning that it might be the last letter he should have the happiness to send to the king, and concluding by recommending his children to his majesty's favour, and ex-

pressing a hope that he would live to see his majesty's designs successful, notwithstanding the threats to which he had been exposed.¹

This letter is distinguished by its remarkable power of language, and generally by its acute appreciation of character. The severe terms in which it alluded to some of the counselors were justified within a few days by the conduct of several lords, who, following the example of Argyll, openly joined the Covenanters. In speaking of the personal conduct of the bishops, Hamilton evidently relied, to a considerable extent, on the charges about to be brought against them in the assembly. His opinion, of the easiness of the task which the prelates had undertaken if rightly gone about, is as absurd as that expressed regarding the speedy suppression of their opponents. It does not appear what grounds he had for supposing that his life was in danger, and it may be doubted whether he was sincere in the apprehensions which he professed to entertain.

From Glasgow the commissioner went to Hamilton, taking with him the Bishops of Ross and Brechin, who could not have been left behind with safety to themselves, and thence proceeded to Edinburgh, from which city he again wrote to the king. He also wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the twenty-seventh of November, and the second of December. The contents of these letters are only known through the answers sent to them. The king declared himself satisfied with the dissolution of the assembly, and, alluding to a desire which Hamilton had expressed to return to London, hoped that he would first so arrange matters as not to dishearten the royalists. Laud thanked the commissioner for his exertions on behalf of the Church, the bishops, and the poor clergy of Scotland. He spoke very doubtfully of the propriety of his coming up to London, and made special reference to the miserable prospects of those who had faithfully served Go-

¹ Hardwicke Papers, vol. ii. p. 113-121. The editor of these Papers mentions that this letter was not inserted by Burnet in his Memoirs, on account of personalities which it was too near the time to publish. The reason is hardly sufficient one, and does not apply at all to some important parts of the letter. There must have been other reasons, not yet explained, that led Burnet to suppress almost all the letters written by Hamilton, while he inserted those written to him.

and the king. After remaining for some time at Edinburgh; the marquis set out for England, and on the fifth of January met the king at Whitehall, and gave him a full account of all that had taken place.¹

Laud's apprehensions regarding the loyal clergy of Scotland were too well founded. They had only the alternative of submitting, and signing the Covenant against their conscience, or of exposing themselves to the vengeance of their triumphant enemies. In the West, where the Covenanting cause was strongest, they were peculiarly defenceless. One of them, writing to Balcanquhal on the twenty-sixth of December, mentions that the following Sunday was appointed in his neighbourhood to be kept as a day of thanksgiving for the assembly—"a terrible day of trial," he says, "for many ministers, who are directed to profess joy when there is nothing within but fear and sorrow."

For a short time, a few of the deposed ministers kept possession of their cures; and the Bishop of Murray continued to preach at Elgin till the beginning of March, when he retired to his castle of Spynie, which he had provided with a sufficient garrison. But Aberdeen was almost the only place where the decrees of the assembly were absolutely rejected, and its authority set at defiance. The magistrates and clergy refused to allow its acts to be proclaimed in their churches, and, on the Sunday after it rose, Bishop Bellenden preached as usual in his cathedral, and administered the Communion to the Marquis of Huntly, who was then residing in Old Aberdeen, to the regents of the King's College, and to the parishioners of St. Machar. On Christmas day, the Communion was again celebrated in the same church by Dr. Scroggie. The members of the university were particularly called upon to shew that they remained firm in their attachment to the laws of the Church and kingdom, because John Lundie, the Humanist at King's College, had appeared as their representative at Glasgow, and in that capacity had concurred in the whole acts of the assembly. This person had received a limited commission from the principal, and some of the regents, authorising him to attend to the interests of the college in the assembly; and had been persuaded by the Covenanters to assume the charac-

¹ Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 107-112.

ter of commissioner for the university. His proceedings at Glasgow, and especially his remaining there after the assembly had been dissolved by Hamilton, were now formally condemned by the body which he professed to represent.¹

The insurgent leaders had written to the Reformed Churches in France and Switzerland, requesting their approbation of the Covenant and of the proceedings against the bishops. They were disappointed in their expectations of sympathy from Charenton and Geneva. The Calvinists had no love for Episcopacy, but they knew how much Charles had done for his nephew the Palatine, and they still looked to the sovereign of England as one of the chief supporters of the Protestant interests. The Swiss Churches were still less likely to make common cause with the Covenanters. Their most learned pastors believed as little in the exclusive right of the Presbyterian discipline, as in that of the hierarchy; their only wish was to prevent dissension and civil war. The intimate correspondence which at one time existed between the divines of Zurich and the English prelates had ceased for many years. But the successors of those who had received the exiles of Mary's reign with generous hospitality, rightly thought that they were entitled to express their opinions freely to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to request his good offices. On the twenty-first of March, while Charles and his Scottish subjects were intent on preparations for war, the pastors and professors of the churches and universities of Zurich, Berne, Basil, and Schaffhausen, wrote to Laud, entreating him to use his influence for the restoration of peace and harmony. The archbishop sent a reply on the thirtieth of April. His answer was courteous and deferential in its language. He expressed his satisfaction in receiving their communication, both because it was theirs, and because it persuaded peace, as became those who were members of the same body, and believed and pro-

¹ Baillie, vol. i. appendix, p. 486. Spalding, vol. i. pp. 125-127, 142, 143. *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. 412-414. Lundie was the agent of those members of his college who wished the university to be brought back to the condition in which it was before Bishop Forbes's restoration. When he requested the assembly to order a visitation of the college, Lord Balmerino protested that Bishop Elphinstone's foundation should not be altered. That nobleman's feelings as a chief of the house of Elphinstone were on this occasion stronger than his Puritanism. See Baillie, vol. i. p. 170.

fessed the communion of saints. He entreated them, as they had written to him, so also to write to the Covenanters, and thereby to shew that they allowed to sovereign princes that power in matters ecclesiastical, which was exercised by the best of the Jewish kings, and that they condemned armed resistance, under pretext of religion, to the powers ordained of God, a thing unheard of in the primitive times of the Church. He concluded by stating that he had already done all that he could, and without success, for the sake of peace.¹

Although the Covenanters continued as before to make the strongest professions of loyalty, they were well aware that the dispute could now be settled only by an appeal to arms, and they were prepared for the conflict. The nobility who headed the movement had the greatest part of the kingdom at their devotion. Large supplies of warlike stores had been received from the Continent, and many Scottish officers and soldiers, trained in the wars of Germany, had returned home to offer their services in the cause of their countrymen. The king, on his part, was hastening forward the preparations of his army and fleet, and endeavouring to arrange an invasion of the western coast from Ireland; and had summoned his English nobility to meet him at York on the first of April. But the war was unpopular in England, not merely among the Puritans, but among many others who believed that its only object was to maintain the cause of the hierarchy.

The success of the king's plans depended, to a considerable degree, on the assistance which he expected to receive from those who remained faithful in Scotland; but, before he arrived at York, the whole of his northern kingdom was in the hands of the Covenanters. The Marquis of Douglas, and the Earls of Traquair, Roxburgh, and Nithsdale, made some feeble exertions, which were speedily suppressed, and the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbarton were taken almost without resistance. In Angus, the Earl of Southesk and Lord Ogilvie acted with more resolution, but were unable to oppose the force that came against them. The great support of the royal cause was the Marquis of Huntly, who had received a commission of lieutenancy over the whole provinces from the

¹ Baillie, vol. ii. appendix, p. 431-435. Laud's Works, vol. vi. p. 563-566. Large Declaration, p. 75. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. i. pp. 52, 53.

North water of Esk to the extremity of Caithness. But even in the immediate neighbourhood of the loyal town in which he was at this time residing, so many powerful barons were attached to the Covenant, that the marquis and Bishop Belenden, for their greater security, removed from the cathedral city to the burgh of Aberdeen, where the former was regularly guarded by twenty-four gentlemen, who every week were relieved by the same number of others, all followers of his princely house. His efforts, however, in the king's cause were to no purpose. A well appointed army of the Covenanters, under the command of Montrose, marched northwards, and the marquis, unable to make effectual resistance, disbanded his soldiers and retired to Strathbogie. Some time afterwards he was seized by Montrose, and carried prisoner to Edinburgh. The retreat of Huntly was immediately followed by the surrender of the town of Aberdeen, which the Covenanting army entered in triumph on the thirtieth of March.

Before Aberdeen submitted, the leading royalists had time to provide for their own safety. On the twenty-fifth of March, Dr. Forbes retired to his paternal castle of Corse; on the twenty-seventh, the bishop fled; and on the following day a ship sailed for England, conveying Dr. Leslie, Dr. Baron, and Dr. Sibbald, Irvine of Drum, Menzies of Pitfoddels, and about sixty young cavaliers all well armed, and bent on offering their services to the king. On Sunday, the seventh of April, the Covenanting preachers took possession of the cathedral and other churches of Aberdeen, and intimated the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the assembly against the bishops. On the following Wednesday, a solemn fast was kept, and Robert Douglas, minister at Kirkcaldy, read the Covenant in one of the churches, and urged all both men and women, to sign it, and to swear with uplifted hands that they did subscribe and swear willingly, freely and from their hearts, and not from any dread of what should happen. "The Lord knows," says the loyal chronicler who beheld these events, "that these town's people were brought under perjury from plain fear, and not from a willing mind, by tyranny and oppression of the Covenanters, who compelled them to swear and subscribe, although they knew that it was against their hearts." The twelfth of April was Good Friday,

and the same writer mentions that it was not observed as formerly, and that on Easter-day there was a sermon in the cathedral by one of the Covenanting preachers, but no celebration of the Communion.¹

While those who endeavoured to maintain the king's cause were thus discomfited and dispersed, the committees named at the assembly proceeded with the trial of the clergy opposed to the Covenant. Baillie states that many ministers were deposed at Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Dundee, Irvine, and elsewhere. Among them were the Dean of Edinburgh, and his colleagues in the churches of that city, Dr. Elliot, Alexander Thomson, and David Fletcher; Dr. Wishart and Dr. Panter of St. Andrews; and Dr. John Gordon, minister at Elgin. In the middle of April, John Corbet, minister at Bonhill in the Lennox, was deposed by the Presbytery of Dunbarton. He soon afterwards fled to Ireland, where he wrote two treatises which excited great indignation among the Covenanters, the first called "The Ungirding of the Scottish Armour," in answer to Henderson's "Information for Defensive Arms," the other, "The Epistle Congratulatory of Lysimachus Nicanor, of the Society of Jesu, to the Covenanters of Scotland."²

Charles was unable to protect the persecuted clergy, but he endeavoured, as far as in his power, to provide for their support. Several received benefices in England and Ireland; and, in the former country, Archbishop Laud, in the latter, Bishop Bramhall, made great exertions to mitigate their misfortunes. In order also to shew that he was determined to maintain the Church, the king resolved to fill up the sees of Caithness and Orkney, both of which were held to be ipso facto void, Graham, the bishop of the latter diocese, having followed the example of Abernethy and Lindsay in submitting to the Covenanters. Dr. Hamilton, who had appeared at the assembly as procurator for the bishops, was nominated to the see of Caithness, and Dr. Robert Baron,

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 113-118. Spalding, vol. i. pp. 134, 144-172.

² Baillie, vol. i. pp. 188, 190. Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, vol. ii. pp. 203, 204. Spalding, vol. i. pp. 124, 180. Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, pp. 260, 261.

who had joined the king in the north of England, to that of Orkney ; but neither prelate was ever consecrated.¹

In the beginning of May, the Marquis of Hamilton, who had been appointed to the command by sea, entered the frith of Forth with the royal fleet. He remained there for some time, but did little injury to the Covenanters ; and his conduct on this occasion affords a strong argument to those who maintain that he secretly favoured the insurgents. His arrival, however, led to another rising in the North on behalf of the king. The Covenanters had again endeavoured to prevail on the Marquis of Huntly to join their cause. His answer was, that he would not purchase liberty at the expense of fidelity, honour, and conscience. "I am in your power," he said, "but am resolved not to leave that foul title of traitor as an inheritance to my posterity ; you may take my head from my shoulders, but not my heart from my sovereign." He was in consequence committed to closer captivity in the castle of Edinburgh. Indignant at the detention of their chief, and hoping for support from Hamilton, the Gordons and their allies hastily formed the resolution of assembling in arms, and were soon afterwards encouraged by the arrival at Aberdeen of Lord Aboyne, Huntly's second son, with a commission of lieutenancy from the king. Alarmed by these proceedings, the Covenanters again entrusted the command of their northern army to Montrose, and, on the nineteenth of June, that nobleman forced the passage of the Bridge of Dee and entered Aberdeen. Further hostilities were prevented by the intelligence of the accommodation agreed to between the king and the insurgents.

It was near the end of May before Charles advanced to Berwick. He encamped in the neighbourhood of that town, and at no great distance from the Scottish army, which lay at Dunse-law, under the command of Alexander Leslie, an officer who had risen to distinction in the German wars. Baillie, who was present as preacher to the Ayrshire men, describes the array of his countrymen in exulting terms. The colonels of the various regiments were for the most part noblemen, and the captains were barons, or gentlemen of good note ; the

¹ Bramhall's Works, vol. i. p. lxxxvi. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. iii. p. 89. Baillie, vol. i p. 153. Russell's Life of Spottiswood, p. cxxii.

lieutenants had almost all served as officers beyond seas; every company had flying at the captain's tent door a new standard, bearing the Scottish arms, and the motto, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant," in golden letters. The soldiers were supplied more plentifully and with better provisions than when at home, and all emulation among the leaders was checked by the authority of Leslie, to whom the greatest deference was paid. In some quarters, Baillie says, there was swearing, and cursing, and brawling, which the chiefs endeavoured to check, but in others might be heard the voices of men singing psalms, praying, and reading the Scriptures.

While the two armies lay within sight of each other, a desire for accommodation began to prevail on both sides. Several of the leading persons met for that object, and the king himself took part in the conferences. An accommodation was agreed to on the eighteenth of June. Charles knew that the army of the insurgents was superior to his own in discipline and zeal, that there was little hope of success in the field, and that he could not retreat with honour. The Covenanters had considerable difficulty in maintaining their soldiers, were apprehensive that the royalists might prevail in the North, and were unwilling to provoke the English by invading their country. The terms of the agreement were not precisely adjusted, and afterwards afforded much room for dispute. Among the chief points conceded by the Covenanters was the surrender of the royal castles, and of the prisoners whom they had taken. The king, on his part, promised to summon a parliament, and also to call another general assembly for the settlement of ecclesiastical differences.¹

It was at first proposed by the king that he should hold the parliament and assembly in person, but he soon changed his intentions in that respect, and, as Hamilton declined to act in his former capacity, the office of commissioner was bestowed on Traquair. Instructions were prepared for the commissioner's guidance. Some of the most important points which the king had refused to allow at Glasgow were now to be conceded, provided they were to be held as acts of the new

¹ Baillie, vol. i. p. 200-223. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. ii. p. 238-281; vol. iii. p. 3-18. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 124-143.

assembly, not as ratifications of the decrees of the previous one. Lay elders were to be admitted, except as to their having a voice in fundamental points of religion. Episcopacy and the estate of the clergy were to be remitted to the free decision of the assembly, in such a way however that Episcopacy should not appear to be condemned as simply unlawful, but for political reasons, and as unsatisfactory to the people; and, if it should be abolished, the commissioner was to endeavour to have power given to the king to choose fourteen ministers to sit in parliament in room of the prelates. These instructions were signed at Berwick, on the twenty-seventh of July, and a few days afterwards Charles returned to London.

In the meantime, the Scottish bishops, who were still in the north of England, wrote by the Bishop-nominate of Caithness to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting him to obtain a prorogation of the assembly, and permission for them to meet and deliberate in relation to the affairs of the Church. Traquair was the bearer of an answer from the king, addressed to Archbishop Spottiswood, and to be communicated to his brethren. In this answer, which was dated the sixth of August, Charles, referring to their letter which had been laid before him by the English primate, expressed his regret that reasons of state, and the promises which he had made at the pacification, rendered it necessary for him to hold the assembly. He declined to allow the bishops to meet, because such meeting could not take place with safety in Scotland, and it was not convenient that it should be held elsewhere in his dominions. He said that their best course would be to give in their exceptions to the assembly and parliament by way of protestation and remonstrance; and, though a document of that kind could not be publicly read, he would take ~~it into~~ consideration, in such a manner as became a prince sensible of his own interest and honour, and of the equity of their desires. He further expressly prohibited them from appearing in person at the ensuing assembly, requesting them in the meantime to remain in England.

On receiving this letter, the bishops prepared a declinature, and put it into the hands of Traquair. In that paper, they protested, in their own name, and in the name of the Church of Scotland, and of as many as should adhere to them, that

the assembly about to meet should be held null in law ; and they requested his majesty, according to the practice of Christian emperors in ancient times, and in order to remedy the existing schisms and divisions, to convene the clergy of his whole dominions, to whose judgment and determination they promised to submit themselves and all their proceedings. The declinature was subscribed at Morpeth, Berwick, and Holy Island, on the tenth, and eleventh days of August, 1639. The prelates who signed it, and who were now assembled within the bounds of that Northumbrian diocese which a thousand years before had received the Christian faith from Scotland, were the primate, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Ross, Gallo-way, Brechin, Argyll, and Aberdeen.¹

The assembly met at Edinburgh on the twelfth of August, and, a sermon having been preached by Henderson, David Dickson was chosen moderator. An act was passed, whereby—after setting forth that the main causes of the great evils by which the Church had been afflicted were the Service Book; Book of Canons, Ordinal, and High Commission, the Perth articles, the government of bishops, the civil places and power of churchmen, the keeping and authorizing of the six corrupt assemblies from 1606 to 1618, and the want of lawful, free assemblies—it was ordained that the foresaid Service Book, Books of Canons and Ordination, and the High Commission, should still be rejected ; that the articles of Perth should no more be practised ; that episcopal government, and the civil places and power of churchmen, should still be holden as unlawful in the Church of Scotland ; that the six assemblies objected to should be accounted null ; that, for the preservation of religion and the preventing of such evils in time to come, general assemblies should be held yearly, or oftener if requisite, a remonstrance as to the necessity for such assembly being first laid before the king ; and that kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and synodal assemblies, should be observed as formerly.

Reports were laid before the assembly from the committees appointed at Glasgow ; and their proceedings in the deposition of ministers were approved of, without prejudice to any lawful complaints against the same, and with a declaration

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 145-155.

that those who were deposed merely for subscribing the bishops' declinature, and receiving the Service Book, might be restored on their true repentance and submission.

On the seventeenth of August, a paper, dated the eleventh of February, was given in, signed by George Graham, styling himself "sometime pretended Bishop of Orkney," in which he formally disclaimed and abjured all episcopal power and jurisdiction, with the whole corruptions thereof, as condemned by the Negative Confession, promising that he would never, directly or indirectly, exercise the same, or even approve thereof in private or public discourse. On the nineteenth, a similar abjuration was produced, dated the twenty-fourth of January, and signed by Alexander Lindsay, Bishop of Dunkeld, who there styled himself simply "minister at St. Madoes." The apostacy of Graham was soon afterwards indignantly commented on by Bishop Hall. "For a sheep to stray," he observed, "it is no wonder; but for a shepherd, yea a guide and director of shepherds—such God and the Church had made you—not to wander himself only, but to lead away his flock from the green pastures and comfortable waters of divine truth to the dry and barren deserts of human inventions, it cannot be but as shameful as it is dangerous; both in an high degree. That some poor seduced souls of your ignorant vulgar should condemn that calling, which they were never suffered to look at but with prejudicate eyes; or that some of your higher-spirited clergy, out of an ambition of this dignity, and anger of the repulse, should snarl at this denied honour; or that some of your great ones, who perhaps do no less love the lands, than they envy and hate the pre-eminence of bishops, should cry down that sacred function, could be no other than might in times so conditioned be expected, and by fore-expectations made the more tolerable: but for a man held once worthy to be graced with the chair of Episcopacy, to spurn down that once honourable seat, and to make his very profession a sin, is so shameful an indignity, as the judicious of the succeeding ages will shake their heads at, and not mention without just indignation."

On the thirtieth of August, the last day of the assembly, the members presented a supplication to the commissioner against the Large Declaration, published in the king's

name in the beginning of the year, in which they requested his majesty to call in the book itself, and to grant warrant for citing and bringing to Scotland all persons, natives of that kingdom, who were known or suspected to have a hand in it, particularly Walter Balcanqual, now Dean of Durham. Andrew Cant proposed that the author of the book should be hanged, but the moderator reminded him that such punishment was not in the power of churchmen. The commissioner promised to impart the supplication to his majesty, and to report what was done regarding it.

A supplication was also presented to the commissioner and lords of the council, in which it was requested that all the king's subjects, of what rank and quality soever, should be ordained to subscribe the Covenant. This supplication was agreed to, and an act of council was made to that effect. Traquair, as an individual, gave his unqualified assent to this decree of the assembly, and to the act against the Service Book, Perth Articles, and Episcopacy, but, as royal commissioner, prefixed to his signature a declaration setting forth that he subscribed the same for the peace of the Church and kingdom, and for settling the distractions among his majesty's subjects. He further declared, in regard to the points condemned, that the condemnation should not infer any censure of such practices beyond the bounds of the Scottish kingdom. The assembly refused to agree to this last declaration, but allowed his statement to be entered on the records.

By an order of the assembly, carrying out an act passed the year before at Glasgow, Blair was translated from Ayr to St. Andrews, and, at the same time, Rutherford was appointed Principal of St. Mary's College. The biographer of Blair, in mentioning the injunction of the Glasgow assembly, gives as a reason for his translation, that he was thought to be "the meetest man to fill the vacant place at St. Andrews, where there were three colleges very corrupt, and the body of the town people addicted to prelacy and the ceremonies, it being the see of the arch-bishop."

The next assembly was appointed to be held at Aberdeen, on the last Tuesday of July, 1640.¹

¹ Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, pp. 204-209, 238-272. *Gordon's Scots Affairs*, vol. iii. p. 37-63. See also Bishop Hall's *Episcopacy by Divine Right*,

The parliament met at Edinburgh, immediately after the dissolution of the assembly, Traquair presiding as commissioner. There was a numerous attendance of peers, and of representatives of the counties and burghs, but the meeting was marked by the entire absence of any representatives of the spiritual estate. After the parliament had sat for some time, the king, dissatisfied with its proceedings, prorogued it to the second of June next to come.¹

While these events were going on, some of the most distinguished of the Scottish prelates and clergy were called away from their earthly labours. Dr. Alexander Ross had been confined to his bed with severe illness, when others of the Aberdeen clergy fled in the month of March. He died on the eleventh of August, about the time that Dr. Leslie and Dr. Sibbald returned from England. In the course of the same month, Dr. Baron, Bishop-nominate of Orkney, died at Berwick, and was buried there. This eminent scholar and good man was lamented by all, except by those among his countrymen who could see no virtue in one who rejected the Covenant. Baillie, in language honourable to his feelings, rebukes the bigotry which sought for proofs of the divine wrath in the circumstances attending the death of "so meek and learned a person;" and Gordon says, "so innocently

ed. 1640, pp. 3, 4; and *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 156-159. In the *Records of the Kirk* (p. 253), the Bishop of Dunkeld, by some mistake of the transcriber or printer, is spoken of as "Alexander Leslie, minister at St. Andrews," instead of "Alexander Lindsay, minister at St. Madoes." During the debate on Episcopacy at the Edinburgh assembly, the moderator, Dickson, gave the well-known definition of a Tulchan bishop, which has already been quoted in a note to this History. Henderson had previously explained the different sorts of prelates in Scotland, in language which shows how absurd it is to speak, as some writers do, of the bishops of his day as Tulchan bishops. "First," he says, there "were superintendents, who got commission for visitation, and it is known that superintendents were no bishops, and what real difference was between them. And it is also known that they did neglect their function, and not good with it. Another sort of prelates that were, or rather supposed bishops, who enjoyed the benefice but not the office, and these were called Tulchan bishops. A third sort came in afterwards, by being commissioners to parliament and voters, and then ascended to that height that ye yourselves are witnesses unto. They entered as foxes, reign as lions, and I wish they may die as Christians." (*Records of the Kirk*, p. 248.)

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 248, 249, 285. Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 158-160.

lived and died he, that such as then hated him do now reverence his memory and admire his works.”¹

On the twenty-third of September, Dr. Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane, died after a long illness, brought on apparently by the calamities which he beheld and suffered, and was buried within the cathedral church of Canterbury. He was a man of a gentle and timid disposition, unfit for political controversy, and coveting only the reputation of a scholar; but his theological opinions, which were strongly opposed to the prevailing Calvinism, his intimacy with Laud, and the active part which he had taken in compiling the Liturgy, had made him odious to the Puritans.²

In the course of the autumn, Archbishop Spottiswood came from Northumberland to London. For about a year he had been in infirm health, and, on the fourteenth of January, being then at Newcastle, had made his will. In it he professed his belief in all the articles of the Creed, rejecting the additions and corruptions of later ages, and, as to church government, declared his persuasion that Episcopacy was the only right and apostolic form. He left his books to his son Sir Robert, President of the Court of Session, desiring that they might be kept together. In regard to his burial he expressed his wish that, if possible, it might be beside his wife in the church of Dairsie, which he had himself erected. He appointed the Bishop of Ross, whom he styled “his best-beloved brother,” to be the chief executor of his will, commending to his fidelity the editing of his History of the Church of Scotland, if not completed by himself, and

¹ Spalding, vol. i. pp. 152, 225, 226, 231. Baillie, vol. i. p. 221. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. iii. pp. 89, 90. Two epitaphs on Dr Baron, written by his friend and fellow-exile, Dr. Panter, will be found in a note to Bishop Forbes's Funerals, pp. 349, 350. A list of his works is given in Gordon, vol. iii. p. 236-238, note.

² Keith's Catalogue, pp. 182, 563. Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 374. Wedderburn left almost his whole estate to charitable purposes, and appointed Archbishop Laud his executor. As the property was situated in Scotland, the archbishop declined to accept the office, and caused a communication to be made to the deceased prelate's brother, Dr. John Wedderburn, then residing at Olmutz, and chief physician of the state of Moravia, in order that the property might be administered, and the will carried out, in his name. See Laud's Works, vol. vii. pp. 591, 592.

requesting him to present it to the king, for whose service and that of the Church, he had undertaken the work. He also expressed an opinion, so far as he had any right to make such a recommendation to his majesty, that Bishop Maxwell would be the fittest person to succeed him in the primacy.

The dedication of the archbishop's History to the king was dated "from the place of his peregrination," the fifteenth of November, 1639. Immediately afterwards he was seized with his last illness, during which he was visited by Archbishop Laud and other prelates, along with whom he received the Communion. His biographer relates that among those who visited him was also the Marquis of Hamilton. The marquis, approaching his bedside, said, "My lord, I am come to kiss your lordship's hands, and humbly to ask your blessing." The archbishop answered, "My lord, you shall have my blessing; but give me leave to speak these few words to you. My lord, I visibly foresee that the Church and king are both in danger to be lost, and I am verily persuaded that there is none, under God, so able to prevent it as your lordship, and therefore I speak to you as a dying prelate, in the words of Mordecai to Esther, 'If you do it not, salvation in the end shall come where else, but you and your house shall perish.' " The marquis replied, that he wished from his heart he could do what was expected from him, though at the sacrifice of his life and fortunes; after which, on his knees, he received the primate's blessing, and departed.

Archbishop Spottiswood died on the twenty-sixth of November, being then in the seventy-fourth year of his age. The wish which he had expressed, that his remains should be taken to Scotland, could not easily be complied with; and it may also have been the king's desire that his obsequies should be celebrated as honourably as possible. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, according to the ritual of the English Church, all the nobles who were then at court attending his funeral.

¹ Life of Spottiswood, prefixed to the folio editions of his History. Russell's Life of Spottiswood, p. cxxx-cxxxiii. The only authority, so far as I am aware, for the interview between the Marquis of Hamilton and the archbishop, is the biography of the latter prefixed to the original edition of his History, and ascribed to Dr. Duppa, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. There is, however, nothing im-

The only works by the archbishop, published during his lifetime, were his answer to Calderwood's treatise on the government of the Scottish Church, and a sermon preached at the meeting of the Perth assembly, which was printed in Bishop Lindsay's account of the proceedings of that synod.

The learning, prudence, and ability of Spottiswood, have generally been admitted, but his private character, and his political administration, have often been severely condemned. The charges of immorality brought against him by the Puritans of his own day were never substantiated, and came from persons who exaggerated harmless amusements or venial errors into crimes, and gave a ready belief to every scandal which was circulated regarding their opponents. It would have been better for the archbishop himself, and for the Church, had he taken a less prominent part in secular matters; but in his conduct, whether as a prelate or as a minister of state, he was for the most part mild, temperate, and just. To his clergy he was affable and courteous, and even to non-conformists almost always gentle and conciliatory. The nobles, whose jealousy he well knew, he treated with deference, and, at the same time, with a due regard to his own dignity. His moderation was not shewn in words only. Great as was the outcry of persecution raised by the Puritans, no severity was exercised against the most turbulent beyond deprivation, and, in a few instances, imprisonment, and banishment to remote parts of the kingdom or beyond seas. The cases of ecclesiastical punishment of any kind were comparatively unfrequent. More ministers were deprived and driven into exile by the Covenanters, during the nine months from December, 1638, to August, 1639, than during the whole period of Spottiswood's primacy. The one great stain on his character is the cruel persecution of the Jesuit, Ogilvie, for which the bigotry of the time affords no sufficient excuse. The spirit of true charity and moderation which he displays in

probable in the narrative; and it was published within fifteen years after the primate's death, subsequently to the ruin of the Hamiltons, but several years before the Restoration. Burnet's silence, under the circumstances, rather confirms its truth.

his History of the Church of Scotland, deserves the highest praise.¹

¹ For Spottiswood's superiority to one of the worst prejudices of his day—that regarding witchcraft—see his History, vol. iii. pp. 66, 67. An example of his forbearance to a non-conformist minister, under circumstances of great provocation, is to be found in Scot's Apologetical Narration, pp. 305, 306—the unconscious testimony of an enemy censuring what was worthy of commendation.

CHAPTER LV.

FROM THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOOD IN NOVEMBER, 1639, TO
THE DEPOSITION OF THE ABERDEEN DOCTORS IN AUGUST, 1640.

*Renewed dissensions between the King and the Covenanters—
Meeting of the Convention of Estates—The General Assembly
meets at Aberdeen—Disputes in regard to Private
Meetings for religious worship—Arrangement on the
subject—The clergy of Aberdeen summoned before the
Assembly—Dr. Scroggie deposed—Charges against Dr.
Sibbald—He is deposed—Dr. Leslie deposed—Charges
against Dr. Forbes—His case is remitted to the Presbytery
of Edinburgh—Archdeacon Logie and John Gregory
deposed—Conclusion of the Assembly—Dr. Forbes de-
posed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh.*

THE prorogation of the parliament of 1639 was soon followed by new causes of dissension. The Earl of Dunfermline and Lord Loudon having been sent to London by the Covenanters, the latter was accused of treason in connection with the well-known letter addressed by him and other noblemen to the King of France, and was committed to the Tower. A parliament was summoned in England, but, unfortunately for himself, Charles dissolved it in anger. The Scottish convention assembled on the second of June, 1640, the day to which it had been prorogued by the king. It was again ordered to be prorogued to the following month, but the Covenanters, disregarding the royal authority, continued to sit, under the presidency of Lord Burleigh. Various important acts were passed. It was ordained that now and in time to come the nobles, barons, and burghesses, should be accounted to be the three estates of the realm, and all former statutes empowering the bishops or other churchmen to sit in parliament were rescinded. The acts of the last general assembly held at Edinburgh were ratified, and it was ordered that his majesty's subjects of all ranks should subscribe the Covenant. The Christmas vacation in the courts of justice was abolished;

the Large Declaration was condemned ; and a parliament was appointed to meet once every three years at the least.¹

The general assembly met at Aberdeen, on Tuesday, the twenty-eighth of July. The place of meeting had no doubt been chosen for the purpose of convincing the enemies of the Covenant that even in their northern stronghold resistance was hopeless. Before the assembly met, however, care was taken to over-awe the royalists in the neighbourhood. A body of soldiers under Monro was lying at Strathbogie, and the Earl Marischal and the Master of Forbes, both of whom had commissions as ruling elders, were quartered with their regiments at Aberdeen. No commissioner appeared in name of the king, nor had the assembly received the royal sanction in any form. The members met within the church formerly belonging to the monastery of the Grey Friars, which was fitted up with seats at the expense of the city. Andrew Ramsay having been chosen moderator, nothing further was done at the first meeting, as it was agreed to wait one day for the appearance of a commissioner from the king.

The acts which were passed by the Aberdeen assembly were of little importance, and need not be particularly mentioned, but its proceedings were interesting in other respects. For some time back, there had been differences among the Covenanters themselves, in connection with private meetings for religious worship. Meetings of that description had been encouraged by some persons from England, supposed to be attached to the Brownist opinions ; but their chief promoters were the Scottish colonists from Ireland, who had been accustomed to hold conventicles by night as well as by day, particularly after the suspension of their ministers by the bishops. The private meetings were discountenanced by Henderson, Ramsay, and other ministers, among whom was Calderwood, who had seen what they led to in the Brownist congregations in Holland. They were supported, however, by Dickson, Rutherford, Livingstone, and Blair, and by several ministers of the West. In the assembly at Edinburgh, it had been proposed to pass an act against these meetings, but, a conference having taken place between the leaders of the two parties, an arrangement was made, which was sub-

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. v. p 288-303.

scribed by Henderson, on the one side, and Dickson, on the other, by which it was agreed—"That whatsoever had been the effects of private meetings of persons from different families for religious exercise in time of trouble or corruption, (in which case many things may be commendable which otherwise are not tolerable,) yet now, when God had blessed them with peace and with the purity of the Gospel, they could not but disallow them, as tending to the hindrance of the exercises of each family by itself, to the prejudice of the public ministry, and to the rending of particular congregations, and by progress of time of the whole Church, besides many offences that may come thereby, to the hardening of the hearts of natural men, and the grief of the godly."

Notwithstanding this agreement, the practices complained of were still continued. One of the most active of their opponents was Henry Guthrie, minister at Stirling, who insisted on bringing the matter before the assembly at Aberdeen, although some of his brethren, who dreaded controversy on such a subject, endeavoured to dissuade him. He stated many things which, according to Baillie, were very odious if true, and he was strenuously supported by the northern ministers and elders, among whom the Earl of Seaforth took a leading part. The lawfulness of the meetings was defended by most of the ministers and elders from the West, particularly by Dickson, Rutherford, and an elder named William Rigg, the same person who had formerly opposed Bishop Forbes at Edinburgh. By the efforts of Baillie and others, an agreement was again come to. An act was unanimously passed for the ordering of family exercise, by which private meetings, held at improper hours, or consisting of more than single families, were forbidden, and all except ministers, or expectants to the ministry, were prohibited from interpreting the Scriptures in families. Baillie congratulated his correspondent Spang that the strife was so appeased, mentioning that their discord would have been sweet pastime to the town of Aberdeen, and other enemies in the North, who were eagerly watching the event. The victory of Guthrie was, however, incomplete, and the causes of dispute were far from being extinguished. In the West, the act of assembly was disregarded, and the contest on the subject was the com-

mencement of a dissension, which afterwards divided the Covenanters into two parties as violently opposed to each other as the Puritans now were to the supporters of Episcopacy.¹

The proceedings against conventicles were led on and encouraged by those who had probably no good will to the Covenant itself. But the business which mainly occupied the attention of the assembly, and in which all concurred whatever may have been their private feelings, was the deprivation of the obnoxious clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen, particularly of the doctors of the university. The supporters of the hierarchy were willing to obey the acts of the assemblies, so far as abstaining from the observance of the Perth articles was concerned. On Sunday, the first of December, Dr. Scroggie had celebrated the Communion in the cathedral of Aberdeen, and the communicants, among whom was Dr. Forbes, had received it sitting; and, on the twenty-second of the same month, Dr. Sibbald, in New Aberdeen, had admonished the people not to keep Christmas-day, as being contrary to the ordinance of the Church. But nothing would satisfy the Puritans short of absolute submission, and subscription of the Covenant, involving a formal abjuration of all those principles of ecclesiastical and civil government which the northern clergy had hitherto believed and taught. A committee, which met at Aberdeen on the seventh of July, pronounced sentence of suspension till the meeting of assembly against Dr. Scroggie, Dr. Sibbald, Andrew Logie, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, and several other ministers; and, at the instigation of Thomas Mitchell, minister at Turriff, deposed John Forbes, parson of Auchterless, son of Alexander Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen. James Gordon bestows a high character on the deposed clergyman. He tells us, that neither his deprivation, "nor twenty years suffering and lying out of his ministry afterwards, under much hardship, did ever compel him to comply in the least, or to recede from his principles—a man to whom his most bitter enemies could object nothing but that he was non-covenanter, otherwise learned, and remarkable for austerity of life and piety." ²

¹ Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, pp. 278, 279. Baillie, vol. i. p. 248-255. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. iii. p. 214-223. Guthrie, p. 66-70. Spalding, vol. i. p. 310.

² Spalding, vol. i. pp. 241, 242, 300. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. iii. pp. 203,

The doctors and clergy had been cited to appear before the assembly, and a committee was appointed for their trial, the members of which sat in the Earl Marischal's house—the place where, two years before, Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, had preached during their residence at Aberdeen. All the accused persons seem to have appeared before the committee. The charges against Dr. Scroggie were, that he preached long upon one text; that he was cold in his doctrine; that he did not edify his parishioners; and that he declined to subscribe the Covenant. "He was an old man," Baillie says, "not very corrupt, yet perverse in the Covenant and Service Book." The sentence of deposition from his office in the ministry was pronounced against him. Gordon vindicates Dr. Scroggie from the aspersions of his enemies, mentioning that, to his own knowledge, he was sober, grave, and painful in his calling; and that his other faults might have been excused, if he had not been a party to the dispute between the doctors and the Covenanters.

Dr. Sibbald was accused of Arminianism, and of refusing to subscribe the Covenant. Among the instances of erroneous doctrine alleged against him were the following:—that he maintained the necessity of private Baptism; that he gave the name of viaticum to the Lord's Supper; that he approved of the fast of Lent; that he taught that alms in a certain sense might be said to put away sin; that he said of one who was doing penance, that if he had improved the grace given to him he would not have fallen into the sin which he had committed. He was also charged with having in his possession, and lending to others, the writings of Dr. William Forbes. His chief

204. Gordon mentions that the person appointed to succeed Forbes "was so much opposed by the parishioners of Auchterless, that Mr. Thomas Mitchell was fain to call for aid from *brachium seculare*, and to that end had a party of musketeers lent him, by whose assistance the doors of the parish church of Auchterless were made patent, and the minister entered by violence, the parishioners not daring to whisper at it. Mr. John Forbes's house and goods were made over to the intrant, and himself, for many years afterwards, frustrate of all payment of his debentures as incumbent there." "Yet," continues Gordon, "I cannot tell by what fatality, such as followed Mr John Forbes stayed there but short time, that place having changed four ministers within less than nineteen years after Mr. John Forbes was driven out, three of them removed by death; yet perhaps not for that cause."

accuser was Rutherford, who had been present at his sermons when in banishment at Aberdeen.

Certain special questions were put to Dr. Sibbald. He was asked whether the Pope was Antichrist; what he thought of Christ's local descent into hell; and whether he believed that all baptized infants were regenerate. He answered that he thought the Pope was Antichrist, and that he knew not whether a greater Antichrist would arise after him; that the Scottish Church had not defined the article of Christ's descent in a national synod, but that he believed Christ had descended into hell, and, in regard to the local descent of his soul, that that was the belief of several of the Fathers, and he, with Zanchius, was unwilling to disallow it; that he adhered to the article of the Scottish Church regarding baptism, and, if he should say with Augustine that all baptized infants were regenerate, he trusted he would say nothing amiss. Dr. Sibbald was deposed.

To Dr. Leslie it was objected that he was lazy, and negligent of his charge; that he had been guilty of drunkenness; and that he refused to subscribe the Covenant. He also was deposed. Gordon attributes the charge of laziness to his retired, monastic way of life, describing him as a severe student, who delighted in nothing else but to sit in his study and spend days and nights at his book. The charge of drunkenness he indignantly repels, averring that he was grave, austere, and exemplary, and sober and abstemious above his accusers.

Every effort had been used to win Dr. John Forbes to subscribe the Covenant. His quiet disposition, his anxiety for peace, the very principles of ecclesiastical obedience which formerly led him to maintain the cause of Episcopacy, were now inducements to submit to the assembly; and his friends and relatives among the Covenanters were earnest in persuading him to that course. He was perplexed and unhappy, but he overcame the temptations to which he was exposed, and refused to act against his conscience. On the twenty-ninth of July—the second session of the assembly—he was present in the Greyfriars' church, along with those who were spectators of the proceedings; and, when his name was called with others of the accused, he was about to approach the moderator, but was stopped, and ordered to be in

attendance each day outside the place of meeting. He meekly obeyed. On the first of August, he was called before the committee, and afterwards appeared several times in presence of the assembly itself. He was charged with not using his authority to suppress Dr. William Forbes's writings, and the Popish and Arminian opinions maintained by some in the university; with inveighing bitterly against his brethren, and reviling the Covenant in his *Irenicum* and *Peaceable Warning*; with favouring the introduction of a Liturgy, and recommending to Bishop Maxwell that it should differ in some points from that of England; with having been present at the consecration of a chapel in the house of Muchalls; and with having refused to subscribe the Covenant. The assembly found that he was free from Popery and Arminianism, and remitted the further consideration of his case to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. For that purpose, he was enjoined to appear at Edinburgh within a month or thereby, and on his way to confer with Rutherford at St. Andrews; failing which, and in the event of his not professing repentance and giving due satisfaction, it was ordered that he should be deposed. He thanked the members for their forbearance, and said that he would obey the command, whatever the result of the conference might be.

This sentence was pronounced on the sixth of August, and his Diary contains the following record of his feelings on the occasion:—"After this, that same day, I being alone in the field, and meditating on all these things, I fell down upon my face and praised God with tears of joy. He hath delivered my soul in peace from the battle that was against me; for there were many with me. O Lord, thou hast pleaded the cause of my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with me. What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me? O Lord, my goodness extendeth not to Thee. O Lord, sanctify my whole spirit, and soul, and body, wholly unto Thyself. Thy vows are upon me, O God. I will render praises unto Thee, for Thou hast delivered my soul from death. Wilt Thou not deliver my feet from falling, that I may walk before God in the light of the living? Lord, lead me, preserve and bless me, in this intended journey to Edinburgh, and bring me home again in peace with a good conscience.

This I asked fervently with tears, and the Lord graciously heard my prayer, assuring me that He will go with me, and bring me again in peace, and that he will shew me his salvation, so that I shall finish my course with joy, and depart in peace in the sight of his salvation. I was hereby exceedingly comforted in the Lord my God against the fear of this journey to Edinburgh, and of my weakness, and of the assaults attending me there, and against the fear of death. Blessed be the name of the Lord, for ever and ever. Amen."

The assembly next took up the charges against the other clergy who had been cited before them. Archdeacon Logie was deposed; and the same sentence was pronounced against John Gregory, minister at Drumoak—the ancestor of a family distinguished, in many successive descents, for learning and science. The proceedings were continued against the other ministers, among whom were several from the diocese of Murray.

Not content with their warfare against the living, the Covenanters next attacked the memory of the dead. One of the charges against the doctors was their encouraging or tolerating the writings of Bishop William Forbes; and Baillie mentions that in the hands both of teachers and students were found the treatises of that prelate, full of Popish opinions, and intended to promote a direct reconciliation with Rome. Three copies, in particular, were discovered of a volume containing Dr. Forbes's *Considerationes*, a treatise by Bishop Wedderburn, and the *Romanus-Catholicus Pacificus* of the English Benedictine, Barnes. The search for these books was made at the instigation of Rigg.

An examination was also made into the writings of Dr. Baron. That this might be done more effectually, his widow was brought from her residence in Strathisla, in Banffshire, under the custody of a company of Monro's soldiers, and, along with her, such of her husband's papers as she had beside her. On her arrival, she was compelled to deliver up the key of his library at Aberdeen, where some letters were found from Archbishop Laud and Bishop Maxwell; and Baillie remarks, "poor Baron, otherwise an ornament of our nation, we found had been much in multis the *Canterburian* way." The Covenanters kept possession of the letters and papers, but allowed the gentlewoman to return.

“And now,” to use the words of the contemporary historian, Gordon, “the assembly’s errand was thoroughly done: these eminent divines of Aberdeen, either dead, deposed, or banished, in whom fell more learning than was left behind in all Scotland beside at that time. Nor has that city, nor any city in Scotland ever since, seen so many learned divines and scholars at one time together, as were immediately before this in Aberdeen. From that time forwards learning began to be discountenanced; and such as were knowing in antiquity, and in the writings of the Fathers, were had in suspicion as men who smelled of Popery, and he was most esteemed of who affected novellism and singularity most; and the very form of preaching, as well as the materials, was changed for the most part.” The Covenanters had indeed overthrown the noblest school of theology that Scotland had yet seen. But the labours of Bishop Forbes and of the scholars whom he gathered round him were not lost. The young men who had studied under them remembered their masters’ lessons, and their example.

The assembly rose on the sixth of August. On the third, an order had been pronounced, appointing Andrew Cant, who had formerly been removed from Pitsligo to Newbottle, to be translated to the church of St. Nicholas in Aberdeen. These removals were now becoming common, as it was necessary that the important offices held by the deprived clergy should be filled by persons of reputation among the Covenanters. Thus, as already mentioned, Henderson had been translated to Edinburgh, and Blair and Rutherford to St. Andrews; while Dickson was appointed professor of divinity at Glasgow, where, soon afterwards, he had Baillie for his colleague.¹

The narrative of the proceedings at Aberdeen may be concluded with some notices of the deprived doctors. Dr. Scrogie received a pension from the king for his support, but he appears to have soon had misgivings as to the course he had adopted, or the consequences to which it might lead. At the

¹ Gordon’s *Scots Affairs*, vol. iii. p. 226-247, and appendix, pp. 283, 284. Gordon’s *Life of Dr. John Forbes*, p. 48-58; and *Forbes’s Diary*, pp. 224, 225. *Baillie’s Letters*, vol. i. p. 248, and *Supplement to the Canterburians’ Self-Conviction*, p. 14-16. *Spalding*, vol. i. p. 310-313, and appendix, pp. 447, 448.

assembly of 1641, he declared his readiness to submit: and, in May, 1642, he signed a formal recantation, by which he abandoned his objections to the Covenant; acknowledged the unlawfulness of altars, priestly vestments, and prayers towards the East; rejected the Service Book, Canons, Ordinal, and High Commission; declared that, though in the Lord's Supper there was a commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ, yet the same ought not properly to be called a sacrifice, either propitiatory or commemorative; renounced the absolute necessity of private Baptism; denied that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be given to dying persons as a viaticum; admitted that certain texts did not forbid defensive measures against the king; and allowed the lawfulness of ruling elders in the government of the Church. This recantation, Spalding tells us, was wondered at by many. Dr. Scroggie died at Rathven, of which parish his son was the incumbent, in 1659, being then in the ninety-fifth year of his age.¹

Dr. Leslie retired to his own chambers within the college, where he lived quietly, refusing to take the Covenant, and declaring that he would not hurt his conscience for any worldly object. He afterwards resided at Strathbogie with the Marquis of Huntly, by whom he was much esteemed, and finally took refuge with a kinsman in Murray, where he died some years before the Restoration.²

Dr. Sibbald firmly refused to subscribe the Covenant. In the month of October following the assembly, he sailed for England in company with Lord Ogilvie, and other royalists. He afterwards went to Ireland, and received a benefice in the city of Dublin. He was one of the Irish clergy who, in August, 1646, signed an address to the lord lieutenant, the Marquis of Ormonde, in which they entreated his lordship to continue his care for the preservation of religion, the Service Book, and public worship,

¹ Spalding, vol. ii. pp. 59, 145, 146. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. iii. p. 227, and note, p. 227-229. The expression "necessity of private Baptism," used in connection with the proceedings regarding Dr. Sibbald and Dr. Scroggie, it is almost needless to say, refers to the opinion that private Baptism was lawful and necessary, when the sacrament could not be ministered in church.

² Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. iii. p. 231. Spalding, vol. i. p. 232; vol. ii. p. 216. A fragment of a Latin treatise by Leslie, on the writings of Cassiodorus, is preserved by Dr. Garden, in his Life of Dr. John Forbes, p. 25-27.

and the true apostolical government of the Church; and, in July of the following year, his name appears among those of the clergy of Dublin who subscribed a declaration, in which they avowed their resolution, notwithstanding an order of the parliamentary commissioners, to adhere firmly to the Book of Common Prayer, and to reject the Directory. After residing for ten years in Dublin, he died of a pestilence then raging, which he caught while zealously discharging his duty in visiting the sick.¹

The chief events which marked the life of Dr. John Forbes subsequently to the assembly at Aberdeen will be afterwards related. In the meantime, it will be sufficient to notice the immediate consequences of the sentence pronounced in his case. Although at first satisfied with his own conduct at the assembly, and assured of the divine protection in his proposed journey to Edinburgh, he subsequently blamed himself for certain concessions which he had made, particularly on the subject of lay elders; and, afraid of being led into further perplexities so as to sin against his conscience, instead of going southwards, he wrote to the Presbytery of Edinburgh that he could not subscribe the Covenant, and that it was for them to declare whether he should continue professor of theology as before, or another be substituted in his place. His anxiety was great, but he found comfort, as in all his distresses, in meditating on the Holy Scriptures, and on the infinite treasures of God's love. He strengthened himself also for whatever was to befall, by reading the history of the persecutions in the second century, deriving courage from the endurance of the martyrs of Lyons, and carefully noting the fact, that among them was the bishop, Pothinus, and that he was succeeded in his episcopal office by Irenæus. The Covenanters for some time delayed proceeding against him, either reluctant to treat with harshness so good and humble a man, or dreading the

¹ Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. iii. p. 230, and note. Garden's Life of Dr. John Forbes, p. 25. Spalding, vol. i. p. 351; vol. ii. pp. 6, 137. Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iv. pp. 555, 556. Mant's History of the Church of Ireland, vol. i. p. 587-591. I have taken it for granted that the James Sibbald of the address and the declaration was the same person as Dr. James Sibbald of Aberdeen. The Dr. Sibbald who attended the Duke of Hamilton at the scaffold was probably a different person, since Dr. Morley, who on the same occasion consoled the dying hours of Lord Capel, mentions that the ministers in attendance on the duke, and on the Earl of Holland, were Presbyterians.

odium which the persecution of a divine of his high character would excite. Finding however that he remained constant to his principles, they at last pronounced sentence. He thus records the event in his Diary :—" Upon the twentieth day of April, 1641, I understood that the sentence of deprivation from my function had passed against me by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, because I have not subscribed, and yet do refuse to subscribe the late Covenant. Then I came to my study and worshipped God, with tears beseeching God to forgive all my sins, to comfort me and strengthen me against this and all assaults, and to make me thankful for honouring me to suffer for his Name's sake, for the which I heartily praised God ; whereas I deserved greater afflictions, in regard of my great and many sins ; but the Lord, in love to my soul, hath cast all my sins behind his back, and made me a confessor of his Name. I prayed also for my brethren who had pronounced this sentence against me, that the Lord would forgive them, and not lay this sin to their charge : and for myself, I prayed that God would keep me with Him, and save me from pride, and from despising any of my brethren, and from all indecent behaviour, and from all hypocrisy, and that he would direct and bless me and my son ; and I prayed that God would bless his people with peace, and cause me by his grace to prefer Jerusalem before my chief joy, and that he would hide me in his tabernacle, in the secret of his presence, and cause me see the good of Jerusalem all my days, and make me dwell in the house of the Lord for ever."¹

¹ Spalding, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18, and note. Garden's Life of Dr. John Forbes, p. 51 ; and Forbes's Diary, pp. 226-230, 239, 240, 251, 255, 256.

CHAPTER LVI.

FROM THE DEPOSITION OF THE ABERDEEN DOCTORS IN AUGUST, 1640, TO
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN AUGUST, 1641.

Negotiations between the King and the Covenanters—Terms of accommodation—Oppressive proceedings of the Covenanters—Meeting of the General Assembly—Renewed discussion as to Private Meetings for religious worship—Question as to Church government—The King visits Scotland—He attends the Presbyterian worship—The accommodation ratified in Parliament—The Presbyterian form of government established—Honours bestowed on the Covenanting leaders—Account of the deprived Bishops—Character of Bishop Maxwell—He is appointed to the see of Killala, and afterwards to the archbishopric of Tuam—His death.

IN August, 1640, war was renewed between the king and the Covenanters. The Scottish army crossed the Tweed, and, advancing through Northumberland, defeated Lord Conway on the banks of the Tyne, and obtained possession of Newcastle. Charles, finding that his English subjects were more disposed to favour the invaders than to rally round their sovereign, was again obliged to yield. Commissioners were appointed to arrange the terms of accommodation. They met, first at Ripon and afterwards at London, but, before the negotiations were concluded, events of the highest importance had taken place in England.

The Long Parliament assembled in November, and within a few weeks the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud were impeached of high treason. In the prosecution of Strafford, and in the general policy of the English Puritans, Rotherham and the other Scottish commissioners at London, and the ministers who accompanied them, took an active share. The Scots were treated with the utmost respect, and a church was set apart for their use, to which great numbers resorted in order to join in a mode of worship long interdicted in England,

and to listen to discourses in which the hierarchy and the Liturgy were openly denounced.

In the meantime the negotiations proceeded, and, as all the demands of the Scots were supported by the ruling party in the English House of Commons, the king, humiliated and disheartened, was unable to make any effectual opposition. He agreed to ratify the acts of the last convention; acquiesced in a grant of £300,000, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; and only hesitated when he was required to yield up his faithful adherents in Scotland to the censure of the parliament of that country. On this last point a compromise was effected, whereby an act of oblivion was to be passed, in which all persons on both sides were to be included, except the Earl of Traquair, the Bishop of Ross, Sir Robert Spotswood, Sir John Hay, and Dr. Balcanquhal. The Scottish commissioners finally insisted that no agreement would be sufficient, unless both nations were united under one form of church government. The king and Archbishop Laud had not been more desirous of assimilating the Scottish Church to that of England by means of the royal prerogative, than the Covenanters now were to force the Presbyterian government and worship on the southern kingdom by the authority of parliament. "Great things here in hand," Baillie wrote exultingly on the twelfth of December; "we trust this is the acceptable time when we shall reap the labours of many saints which before us of old here, and lately also, have been sown in many tears; good hopes to get bishops, ceremonies, and all away, and that conformity which the king has ever been vexing himself and us to obtain betwixt his dominions, to obtain it now, and by it a most hearty nation of the kingdoms." The time, however, was not yet come for so great a change. The king gave an answer in general terms, and the commissioners were obliged to submit. The treaty was finally agreed to on the seventh of August, 1641.¹

During the war, and while the negotiations were going on, the whole Scottish nation was compelled to submit in all things to the orders of the Covenanting committees. Assessments were levied for the expenses of the army and govern-

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 181, 182. Baillie, vol. i. pp. 269, 278, 279, 280, 297.

ment, but, as these were quite insufficient, forced loans were exacted, and noblemen and gentlemen were urged to give up their plate for the good of the cause. While such were the burdens to which those who were favourable to the Covenant were subjected, its opponents could look for little indulgence. The houses of the royalists were plundered, and in some instances destroyed, and their rents were collected for the use of the estates.

In the Church, the victory of the Covenanters was still more complete than in the State. Passive obedience, and acquiescence in the acts of the assemblies, were not held to be sufficient. Subscription of the Covenant was enforced, and was now required to be absolute, without any of those reservations which were allowed at first. It was remarked that, in these tyrannical proceedings, the most active and unscrupulous agents were those ministers who, during the rule of the bishops, had pleaded most strongly for non-conformity and the rights of conscience. Now also, the old liturgical forms, derived from Geneva, and used since the time of Knox, began to be openly thrown aside by the more popular preachers. The Gloria Patri at the end of the metrical psalms was censured as superstitious; the Creed was no longer used as the symbol at Baptism; even the Lord's Prayer was given up in public worship, and was spoken of by some in language of the grossest irreverence.¹

The king, aware that he had lost the obedience of his Scottish subjects chiefly through the influence of the nobles, sought to recover his authority by winning some of the chief among them to his side. Loudon, in order to gain his liberty, had promised to support the measures of his sovereign. Montrose had been won, partly it would seem by the gracious demeanour of Charles himself, partly by discovering the real objects of the Covenanting leaders; and Rothes, the first instigator of the movement, was brought over by the prospect of rewards suited to his covetous and ambitious character. But all was in vain. Loudon was unwilling or unable to effect anything, and carefully concealed his engagement. Montrose, as soon as he began to be suspected, lost much of his influence; and whatever hopes might have been entertained of Rothes

¹ Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. iii. p. 248-250.

were disappointed by his death in August, 1641. The movement, however, could not now have been stopped by the desertion of its chiefs. The ministers, originally the instruments of the nobles, were beginning to act on their own account, and among the nobility themselves a leader had arisen in the Earl of Argyll, as crafty and unscrupulous as Rothes, and less capable of being swayed from the objects to which he was devoted.

In order if possible to conciliate the Covenanters, or perhaps with other objects which have never been satisfactorily explained, Charles resolved to pay a second visit to his northern kingdom. Before, however, giving an account of the visit, it will be proper to notice briefly the proceedings of the general assembly which met at St. Andrews, on the twentieth of July, and which, a few days afterwards, was transferred to Edinburgh for the convenience of the commissioners who were attending parliament. The Earl of Wemyss was the royal commissioner, and Henderson was again chosen moderator. A considerable portion of the assembly's time was occupied in discussions regarding the translation and appointment of ministers. Several applications, made by the people of Aberdeen to have the ecclesiastical vacancies in their city filled up, were refused; and this, as Baillie mentions, provoked them so much, that they asked leave to get back their deprived doctors.

The discussion about private meetings was renewed. The act of the Aberdeen assembly had been ill received by the extreme Puritanical party, especially in Edinburgh, where the city ministers, and even Henderson himself, were found fault with. Henry Guthrie again urged his objections to the meetings, while their defenders insisted on greater liberty of worship. Henderson once more interfered, and, with the assistance of the Earl of Argyll, a compromise was effected.

On the ninth of August, a letter was read, addressed to the assembly by several ministers in England, in which the writers congratulated them on their successful efforts to recover their liberties and privileges in the Church and commonwealth; mentioned their own prospects of being soon freed from the yoke of Episcopacy; and craved their judgment regarding an opinion entertained by some brethren, that every

particular congregation was in itself a complete Church, a majority of whom, with or without office-bearers, was entitled to discharge the whole powers of government, and of election, ordination, and deposition of officers, and of admission, excommunication, and absolution of members. The assembly thanked the ministers for their good wishes, and mentioned its earnest desire that both kingdoms might have one Confession of Faith, one Directory for Public Worship, one Catechism, and one form of Church Government. In reference to the last point, the members expressed their grief that any godly ministers and brethren should not agree with other Reformed Churches as to government, as they did in regard to doctrine and worship: and they stated their opinion that the exercise of ecclesiastical power belonged properly to the officers of the Church, yet so that in matters of moment the tacit consent of the congregation should first be obtained; and that the officers of a particular congregation should not exercise that power, except in subordination to the greater presbyteries and synods, provincial and national; and this they declared to be warranted by the light of nature, to be founded on the Word of God, and conformable to the pattern of the primitive and apostolical Churches.¹

The king arrived at Holyrood on Saturday, the fourteenth of August. The parliament had been sitting for some time, and had virtually assumed the powers of government. Charles found himself a king only in name; his old adherents and the new converts to his cause were unable to assist him, or to protect themselves from imprisonment and ruin; and he passively submitted to whatever was demanded by the triumphant Covenanters. Among the few who accompanied him were his nephew the Palatine, the Duke of Lennox, and the Marquis of Hamilton. It does not appear that he was attended by any of his English chaplains; they could not indeed have safely appeared in public. On the forenoon of the Sunday after his arrival, he went to the abbey church, and heard Henderson preach; and, when that minister remonstrated with him about his absence in the afternoon, he promised to be more punctual in future. The admonition was probably delivered in language very different from that which Knox and Melville were accustomed to use to

¹ Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 292-297. Baillie, vol. i. p. 359-377.

their sovereign, but the circumstance marks the pretensions of the Covenanters, and the helpless condition of the king. Every day also, both morning and evening, as Baillie mentions, Henderson said prayers, read a chapter, sung a psalm, and said prayers again, and the king heard all, making no complaint of the want of a liturgy or ceremonies.

On the twenty-sixth of August, the treaty was ratified in parliament by the king in person, and, according to the Scottish form, was touched with the sceptre. By this act, Charles condemned all his own former proceedings, and approved of the conduct of his opponents; sanctioned all that had been done by the assemblies at Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen; and established the Presbyterian form of government and worship. He farther agreed that the officers of state, privy counsellors, and judges, should be nominated with the advice of parliament. When this concession was announced to the estates from the king's own mouth, "they all arose," a contemporary writer remarks, "and bowed themselves to the ground." Lord Loudon was appointed Chancellor; and the office of Treasurer, which had been taken from Traquair, was entrusted to five commissioners. The Marquis of Huntly and several other members of the council, Sir Robert Spottiswood, President of the Session, Sir John Hay, Clerk-Register, and some of the judges, were removed, and Covenanting noblemen and lawyers were put in their places, Johnstone of Warriston being one of the new judges. The Marquis of Hamilton retained his seat in the council, and was now in high favour with the popular party.

The return of the king was hastened by the intelligence which he received of the breaking out of the Irish rebellion. The Roman Catholics in Ireland were encouraged by the success of the Covenanters, and attempted to justify their proceedings by similar arguments; but the commencement of their revolt was marked by atrocities from which the Scottish insurrection had happily been preserved. Before Charles left Scotland, he conferred honours and gifts on those who had been most active in opposition to his authority. Argyll was created a marquis; Lindsay and Loudon were made earls; Alexander Leslie was raised to the peerage by the title of Earl of Leven; and Johnstone was knighted, and received a

pension. Henderson obtained the deanery of the chapel royal and the revenues of various bishoprics were bestowed partly on the universities and other public bodies, and partly on some of the leading nobles. On the evening of the seventeenth of November, Charles gave a banquet to the nobility in the great hall of his palace of Holyrood, and on the following morning set out for London, departing, as he is said to have been assured by the chancellor, "a contented prince from a contented people."¹

The Covenanters had indeed reason to be satisfied, for they had got all that they demanded. But there could have been little real content in the mind of the unhappy king. He had surrendered to a faction the authority which God had given him for the benefit of all his people; he had abandoned his friends, rewarded his enemies, compromised his own personal dignity, and done wrong to his religious convictions. He hoped that what he had granted would secure the fidelity of one of his kingdoms at least in the struggle which he saw was approaching, but even at the time he must have dreaded that all his sacrifices might prove in vain. Helpless as he was, the concessions which he had made and the proceedings in which he had taken part admit of no excuse. They were as wrong as they were impolitic, and he must have regarded them then as he did in after years, if his usually clear judgment had not been bewildered by the perplexities of his position, and by the advice of timid or dishonest counsellors.

The restored Episcopacy of Scotland having thus been overthrown, a few words may be added regarding the fortunes of the deprived prelates.

Alexander Lindsay, Bishop of Dunkeld, George Graham, Bishop of Orkney, and John Abernethy, Bishop of Caithness, passed the rest of their days in obscurity, neglected by those whom they had joined, and pitied or despised by those whom they had forsaken. They had all been Presbyterian ministers for many years before they received consecration, and had probably never entertained any higher opinion of Episcopacy, than merely that it was a lawful form of church

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. v. p. 370-379. Baillie, vol. i. p. 385-398. Balfour, vol. iii. p. 39-165. Guthrie, p. 84-93. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 184-187.

government. Much less excusable was the conduct of James Fairley, Bishop of Argyll. A supporter of the hierarchy before he was a bishop, and consecrated at a time when he ought not to have accepted the episcopal office unless he believed in its apostolical authority, for a brief period he shared the calamities of the falling Church, but soon lost faith and courage, and submitted to the Covenanters. After having been presented to the church of Largo in Fifeshire, and rejected by the people and the presbytery, he is said to have been appointed minister of Lasswade in Mid-Lothian.¹

I have been unable to ascertain anything beyond what has already been mentioned of Neil Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, and of Robert Hamilton, nominated to Orkney.

David Lindsay, Bishop of Edinburgh, did not long survive his deprivation. He died in England, it is said, in December, 1641.²

Baillie, writing from London on the twenty-eighth of December, 1640, mentions that the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Bishops of Aberdeen and Brechin, were then residing there, with their families, in great poverty and misery. Patrick Lindsay, the aged Archbishop of Glasgow, died at York, in the end of June, 1644. The governor of the city was just about to assist at his funeral, when he was called away by the tidings of the battle of Marston Moor, and the body was committed to the earth by a few poor men employed for the purpose. Adam Bellenden, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Walter Whitford, Bishop of Brechin, also died in England, the former probably before the Archbishop of Glasgow, the latter in June, 1647.³

John Guthrie, Bishop of Murray, was the only prelate who remained in Scotland without submitting to the Covenanters. He was compelled by Monro to surrender his episcopal castle of Spynie, and was carried prisoner to Edinburgh. Baillie mentions that from the tolbooth of that city he sent a supplication to the assembly of 1641, but, as he was found obdurate,

¹ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 98, 227. Preface to Original Letters of the reign of James the Sixth, pp. xxxvii. xxxix. xli. Baillie, vol. i. p. 372; vol. ii. pp. 53, 93.

² Keith's Catalogue, p. 61. Preface to Original Letters of the reign of James the Sixth, p. xxxvii.

³ Baillie, vol. i. p. 288; vol. ii. p. 213. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 133, 167. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Bliss's ed. vol. iii. p. 1016.

that no attention was paid to it. The parliament of the same year was more merciful, and allowed him to be released after a harsh imprisonment of fourteen months, on condition that he should not return to his diocese. He retired to his own house of Guthrie in Angus. The exact date of his decease is not ascertained.¹

John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, seems to have been the greatest Scottish prelate of the reign of Charles. His eminent ability, his devotion to the cause of his sovereign and the Church, the rectitude of his conduct, the dignity and consistency of his character, may be discovered from the records of the time, but have never been sufficiently acknowledged, even by the writers most favourable to monarchy and Episcopacy. Reference has already been made to the part which he took in the proceedings of the bishops subsequently to their deprivation. On the day after the decease of Archbishop Spottiswood, in terms of the injunction in the primate's will, Dr. Maxwell delivered the manuscript of his History into the king's own hand, at the palace of Whitehall. Some months previous to this, Charles had proposed to appoint him to the see of Elphin, in the province of Tuam, but gave up his intention at the urgent entreaty of the lord deputy Wentworth, who had promised the bishopric to another. Soon afterwards a vacancy occurred in the diocese of Killala, in the same province, under the following circumstances. John Corbet, the deprived minister of Bonhill, had been hospitably received by Bishop Bramhall and others, and, on the publication of his treatises against the Covenanters, had been recommended to his countryman, Archibald Adair, Bishop of Killala, for a benefice then vacant in that prelate's gift. The bishop treated Corbet in the most rude and offensive manner, and censured him severely for the way in which he had spoken of the Scottish Puritans; and the indignant clergyman complained of his proceedings to the court of High Commission. It is probable that Adair, though injudicious and intemperate

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 152. Baillie, vol. i. pp. 365, 366. Spalding, vol. ii. pp. 86, 142. Guthrie, p. 30. Balfour, vol. ii. p. 382; vol. iii. p. 155. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. v. p. 482. Balfour states that the bishop on his release was also ordained to give satisfaction to the Church; but the minutes of parliament say nothing of this.

in his language, was not actually hostile to the hierarchy to which he himself belonged. But it was thought necessary by Wentworth to prevent at all hazards the progress of rebellion and schism in Ireland; and, in May, 1640, Adair was deprived by the court of High Commission, notwithstanding the opposition of Bedell, who, justly thinking that the deprivation of a bishop was too serious a matter to be carried through merely on political considerations, resisted a sentence founded only upon a charge of unbecoming language, nothing being objected in regard to life or doctrine.

To the see thus rendered vacant Bishop Maxwell was appointed, but he had not been long in Ireland when the rebellion broke out. His episcopal palace was attacked and plundered by the insurgents, and he was himself severely wounded, though he escaped by the assistance of the Earl of Thomond, and took refuge, first in Galway, and afterwards in Dublin. While residing in the latter city, he was a zealous and constant preacher, encouraging his hearers to bear with patience the troubles of that evil time. He subsequently went over to England, and joined the king at Oxford, where he appears to have acted as one of the royal chaplains. On the thirtieth of August, 1645, he was appointed to the metropolitan see of Tuam, vacant by the death of Archbishop Boyle. His new dignity must have been almost a nominal one, but he returned to Ireland, and again took up his abode in Dublin. At that city, in August, 1646, he signed the address of the Irish bishops and clergy to the lord lieutenant, which has been already referred to. In the beginning of the following year, he received some intelligence of the king's misfortunes, which so strongly affected him, that a few hours afterwards he was found dead in his closet, in the attitude of prayer. His decease took place at Dublin, on the fourteenth of February, 1647. By the care of the Marquis of Ormonde, he was interred in the cathedral of Christ Church.¹

Within nine years after the sitting of the Glasgow assembly,

¹ Bishop Russell's preface to Archbishop Spottiswood's History, p. xii. Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. pp. 369, 373, 378, 383. Burnet's Life of Bedell, p. 109-112. Mant's History of the Church of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 542, 543, 563. Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iv. p. 556. Baillie, vol. ii. pp. 116, 125, 207, 208, 221, 373. Keith's Catalogue, p. 203. Bishop Maxwell was the author of two tracts, the one entitled "*Sacro-sancta regum Majestas*," the other "*The Burden of*

all the bishops who derived their succession from the prelates consecrated in 1610 were probably dead, with the exception of John Leslie, Bishop of Raphoe, formerly of the Isles, and Thomas Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway.

Issachar, or the tyrannical Power and Practices of the Presbyterian Government in Scotland, in their Parochial Session, Presbytery, Provincial Synod, and General Assembly." The former treatise called forth the "Lex Rex," of Rutherford; the latter Baillie's "Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland." The editor of Blair's Life (note p. 90) sums up a brief notice of Maxwell's labours and sufferings with the remark, "a poor life indeed." Poor, certainly, and miserable, if the bishop had not looked forward to a better.

CHAPTER LVII.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN AUGUST, 1641, TO THE APPROBATION OF THE DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP, AND THE FORM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT, IN FEBRUARY, 1645.

The Civil War in England—General Assembly of 1642—General Assembly of 1643—English Commissioners at the Assembly—The Solemn League and Covenant—The Westminster Assembly of Divines—Scottish Commissioners at the Assembly of Divines—General Assembly of 1644—The Directory for Public Worship and the Form of Church Government approved of—Account of these Formularies.

THE king's concessions to the Scottish Covenanters encouraged the Puritans in England to persist in their attack on the prerogatives of the crown, and on the doctrines, ritual, and government of the Church. For a brief period the struggle continued to be carried on within the walls of parliament, but at length Charles was obliged to leave his capital and retire, first to Hampton Court, and afterwards to York. When it became obvious, during the summer of 1642, that an appeal to arms could no longer be avoided, the royal cause seemed to be as hopeless in England, as it was in Scotland the previous year. The parliament had deprived the king of his soldiers, his fleet, his garrisons, and his revenues; but he was no longer wanting to himself, and to the high duties of his station. He called on his people to assist him in the preservation of law and religion, and the summons was answered in a manner which shewed that a large portion of the English nation were firmly attached to their sovereign and the Church.

The successes of the royalists in the beginning of the war were such, that the rebellion might perhaps have been extinguished if the Scots had not taken a part in the contest. Charles thought that he had secured the neutrality, at least, of the Scottish nation, if not their active support. He had given them all, and he now looked for such a return as it became faithful subjects to render to their prince. His efforts to pre-

serve their good will were zealously seconded by some of the chief nobility of the northern kingdom, but the real authority was now in the hands of the popular party, headed by Argyll and the ministers, by whom every art had been used to keep up the national enthusiasm. The people had been taught to believe that they were bound, by the solemn obligations of their Covenant, to complete the subversion of an antichristian system by the overthrow of the hierarchy and Liturgy wherever they were still maintained. To this all powerful feeling the parliament of England now appealed, and the Covenanters at once threw aside every tie of duty and gratitude to their sovereign. It was resolved to raise an army for the assistance of their English brethren, and to ratify the alliance with them by a civil and religious bond.

Such was the general course of events up to the autumn of 1643. A few remarks will be sufficient to explain the chief ecclesiastical transactions in Scotland.

The general assembly met at St. Andrews on the twenty-seventh of July, 1642. The Earl of Dunfermline was the royal commissioner, and Robert Douglas, who had recently been appointed one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was elected moderator. Argyll and other leading noblemen were present. A letter from the king, and a declaration from the English lords and commons sitting at Westminster, were laid before the assembly. The former expressed his majesty's desire for the welfare of the Church; the latter set forth the earnest wishes of the parliament for a reformation in Church and State, and for preventing the effusion of Christian blood, in which they were hindered by the plots of a malignant party of Papists and ill-affected persons, especially the corrupt and dissolute bishops and clergy. The assembly agreed on an answer both to the letter, and to the declaration. To the king they made the highest professions of loyalty, urging, however, unity in religion, and uniformity in church government: to the parliament they expressed their entire concurrence in the objects set forth in the declaration; mentioning their hope that both kingdoms might be united in faith, worship, and ecclesiastical government; making particular reference to various efforts of the Scottish assemblies in the reign of James to promote a true reformation of the Church of England; and suggesting

that the good work would now most conveniently be commenced by plucking up the prelatical hierarchy, the main cause of their misery and troubles.

The answers to the royal letter and to the declaration of the lords and commons were drawn up by Henderson, and were entrusted to the care of Lord Maitland, eldest son of the Earl of Lauderdale, to be delivered to the king and the parliament. In order, as was alleged, that these and other matters of importance might be attended to during the time when no assembly should be sitting, a committee was named, consisting of a large number of ministers and elders, with full power to take all requisite steps for promoting the great work of union in religion and church government. This commission was renewed in subsequent assemblies.¹

Lord Maitland delivered the documents entrusted to him. The king, in reply, sent a declaration of his opinions to the Scottish privy council, written on the twenty-sixth of August, the day after he had set up his standard at Nottingham. He mentioned his wish to promote unity in religion, and uniformity in church government, provided these blessings could be obtained in a proper manner; and warned the Scots not to trust the professions of their pretended friends in England, who were really as much opposed to Presbyterianism, as they themselves were to Episcopacy. The lords and commons returned a direct answer by Maitland. They again expressed their desire for unity; announced their intention of calling an assembly of learned and godly divines to deliberate on the subject; and requested the Scottish assembly to send some of their own number to London, for the purpose of settling uniformity in church government, whereby a more easy way might be made for establishing one Confession of Faith, one Liturgy or Directory of Public Worship, and one Catechism, in all the three kingdoms. They farther declared that the government by archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical officers depending on the hierarchy, was an evil in itself, and prejudicial to the Church and kingdom, and therefore that it ought to be taken away. When the answer from the parliament was laid before the commission of the assembly, Baillie mentions that they were very glad, and that they blessed God.

¹ Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 320-333. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 44-54.

'They did not see, or did not choose to observe, that no promise was made to set up the Presbyterian system in room of Episcopacy.¹

The general assembly again met at Edinburgh on the second of August, 1643. Sir Thomas Hope was the royal commissioner, and Henderson, for the third time, was chosen moderator. For some days nothing of importance was transacted, the members anxiously expecting the arrival of commissioners, appointed by the parliament of England to attend the meeting of the assembly, and of the convention of estates which sat at the same time. One circumstance is mentioned in the records, which shews that superstition had not abated during the ascendancy of the Covenanters. An act of assembly at this time refers to the extraordinary increase of the sin of witchcraft; and Baillie states that thirty persons accused of that crime had been burned in Fife alone, within a few months. The English commissioners, Sir William Armine, Sir Henry Vane, and two other members of the lower house, with two ministers, Marshall and Nye, at last arrived, and were introduced to the assembly. They presented a declaration from the parliament, expressing a desire for the reformation of religion, and a letter from the Assembly of Divines, which had now met at Westminster, subscribed by their prolocutor, Dr. Twisse, and others. A letter was also read, signed by more than seventy English ministers, earnestly entreating the Scots to assist their brethren, now exposed to great peril by the king's successes.

There was a difference of opinion in the assembly as to the proper course to be adopted, some insisting that they ought to mediate between the king and the parliament, without openly siding with the latter; but the contrary arguments of Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston finally prevailed, and it was resolved to make common cause with the English Puritans. Discussions, however, took place regarding the nature of the agreement. The commissioners proposed that its terms should be settled in the shape of a civil league between the two nations; the Scots insisted on a religious covenant: the former shewed a desire not to exclude the Independents, so far as England was concerned;

¹ Baillie, vol. ii. p. 55. Rushworth, vol. v. p. 390-392.

the latter were determined to tolerate nothing but Presbyterianism in both kingdoms. At last the draft of a paper was approved of, and on the same day, the seventeenth of August, received the unanimous assent both of the assembly and of the convention. Answers were prepared to the papers sent by the parliament and the Assembly of Divines, and were ordered to be delivered by a committee of eight members—Henderson, Douglas, Rutherford, Baillie, and Gillespie, and the Earl of Cassillis, Lord Maitland, and Sir Archibald Johnstone. Any three of them, two being ministers, were authorized to treat and conclude with the parliament and assembly of England on all matters regarding a union of the Churches.¹

The document which received the sanction of the assembly and estates in August, 1643, bore the title of "A Solemn League and Covenant, for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland." It set forth, that the subscribers, noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the Gospel, and commons of all sorts, in the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, living under one king, and being of one Reformed religion, for the preservation of themselves and their religion, and according to the commendable practice of those kingdoms in former times and the example of other nations, had resolved to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant; and to swear that they would endeavour the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, and the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches; and to labour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, and directory for worship and catechizing. They were in like manner, without respect of persons, to endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and everything else contrary to

¹ Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 345-360. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 41-43. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 83-97.

sound doctrine, and the power of godliness. They were to endeavour to preserve the rights and privileges of parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms; and to preserve and defend the king's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and liberties of the kingdoms. They were also to endeavour the discovery and punishment of all incendiaries and Malignants, and to assist all who should enter into the League and Covenant.

That part of the document which refers to the proposed reformation of religion in England and Ireland, like the expressions formerly used on the same subject by the English parliament, is doubtful in its meaning. Some writers have maintained that on this point the Scots were deceived by Vane; others, that they deluded themselves, from their belief that the religion recognized in the word of God and conformable to the example of the best Reformed Churches could only mean Presbyterianism. It was more likely that the able men who drew up the Covenant, aware of the difficulty attending the question, purposely used ambiguous language.

In the month of September, the new Covenant received the sanction of the Assembly of Divines, of the House of Commons, and of the few temporal lords who called themselves the Upper House. It was then sent back to Scotland, and was finally adopted, signed, and sworn to, by the committee of the estates, and by the commission of the Church, on the thirteenth of October. Copies of the Covenant were sent to the moderators of all the presbyteries, with orders to read and explain it on the first Sunday after receiving it, and, on the Sunday following, to cause it to be sworn to by every man and woman, and subscribed by those who were able to write, with their own hands, and by the clerk of the parochial session, in name of those who could not write, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures, and confiscation of goods. The Scots immediately resolved to send an army into England; and Leven, who on receiving his earldom had solemnly engaged never to fight against his sovereign, at once accepted the command, declaring that his promise was made with the condition that religion and his country's rights were not in hazard.¹

“So the play is begun,” Baillie remarks; “the good Lord

¹ Baillie, vol. ii. p. 99-102.

give it a happy end." The end was beyond human foresight, but all who retained any sense of their duty as Christians and as subjects might understand that no good could eventually come of such a beginning. Seldom has a rebellion commenced on worse grounds than that in which the Scots now engaged. The only excuse which can be made for it is that the king's success in England might have been fatal to the civil liberties and ecclesiastical institutions of Scotland. But Charles had hitherto faithfully observed the compact which he had made with his northern subjects; and, if a solemn engagement may be broken by one party, because apprehensions are entertained that its conditions may possibly be infringed by the other, all confidence and truth must be at an end. What might have happened had the Scots kept faith with their sovereign, it is impossible to conjecture; but it is certain that, by violating their duty and breaking the most sacred obligations in their anxiety to overthrow the English Church, they lost all right to call on the king or his successors to abide by the concessions of 1641. In this no one was more to blame than Henderson. He alone possessed ability and influence to check the selfish ambition of Argyll and Warriston. He was not, like Baillie, a mere instrument in the hands of others; he was not, like Rutherford, blinded by fanaticism to the real nature of the acts in which he bore a part. He knew that, to gain what undoubtedly he believed to be a great and noble object, he was using the most unworthy means; but he wanted honesty and courage to prefer his duty to his inclinations and his interest.

The proceedings of the general assembly, which met at Edinburgh in May, 1644, do not call for particular notice. The next meeting, which was at the same place on the twenty-second of January in the following year, was of more importance. Robert Douglas was moderator, but, as the Presbyterians were in arms against the royal authority, no commissioner was present from the king. Baillie and Gillespie, two of the Scottish commissioners at Westminster, who had returned home for the purpose, laid before the members a letter from the Assembly of Divines, and explained their proceedings at the English synod.

The Assembly of Divines had now continued for a year and

a half. They were originally called together by an ordinance of the Lords and Commons, dated the twelfth day of June, 1643, by which they were directed to meet on the first of July following, within King Henry the Seventh's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. A royal proclamation had expressly forbidden their meeting, but no attention was paid to its injunction. The divines, with whom were associated several members of the House of Commons, were nominated by the parliament, and were to sit, and be adjourned, and dissolved, at such time, and in such manner, as their constituents might direct, and were not to publish their proceedings without the consent of the Lords and Commons. By the same authority, Dr. Twisse was appointed prolocutor, and, in the case of his decease or absence, his successor was also to be named by parliament. It was expressly declared that the assembly should not exercise any jurisdiction, power, or ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, or any other powers, beyond what were mentioned in the ordinance.

The whole tenor of the ordinance sufficiently pointed out the absolute supremacy which the civil power claimed over the assembly; and the same distinctive character continued to mark its proceedings. To the Scottish commissioners, whose sentiments were so very different, this must have been particularly obnoxious. They saw that the opinions which might be expressed by the assembly, and the formularies which it might draw up, would, within England, derive their entire sanction, not from the decrees of a synod, but solely and absolutely from the authority of parliament in matters ecclesiastical. The objects, however, which they had in view, could only be obtained by a close alliance with the parliament; and they did not hesitate to join with the two houses in an attempt to establish a new system of faith, worship, and church government, in defiance of the wishes of the great majority of the clergy, and a large proportion of the people of England.

When Henderson and the other Scottish commissioners arrived at London in November, 1643, they had to apply to the two houses for a warrant to take their place in the assembly, since, without such warrant, no one was allowed to be present, even as a spectator. The assembly sat first, as originally appointed, in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, but, during the winter, in the Jerusalem Chamber. Baillie gives a

very animated and interesting account of its mode of proceeding, which resembled the practice of the House of Commons rather than that of ecclesiastical courts in Scotland. The Scottish commissioners declined to sit simply as members, and claimed to be looked upon as the representatives of their own Church, and to treat as such with a committee of the assembly and parliament, in regard to the proposed uniformity between the two kingdoms. This claim, after some opposition, was allowed. There was considerable discussion on various points, especially on those in which the Independents differed from the Presbyterians. The members of the former sect were only a small minority in the assembly; but, from their ability and learning, they were frequently able to embarrass and perplex their adversaries. There was much opposition to the authority claimed by the Scots for lay elders; and it was with great difficulty that the Presbyterians succeeded in carrying the point that no single congregation had the power of ordination. Baillie very candidly admits that the advance of the northern army was one of the best arguments of his friends, and that the success of the theological warfare depended much on the progress of the Scottish soldiers in the field.

The commissioners for some time endeavoured to avoid disputes with the Independents, labouring rather to establish the Directory for Public Worship, as to which all were agreed, and thereby to "abolish the great idol of England, the Service Book." They strenuously opposed an adjournment of the assembly at Christmas, 1643, and moved that it should sit as usual even on the day of the Nativity. In this they did not succeed; but Baillie remarks with fanatical exultation, "we prevailed with our friends of the Lower House to carry it so in parliament, that both houses did profane that holy day, by sitting on it, to our joy, and some of the assembly's shame." A year elapsed, however, before the Directory, and certain propositions concerning the form of church government, and the ordination of ministers, were approved of by the assembly. These documents, the first of which only was sanctioned by parliament, were sent to Scotland in January, 1645, to be submitted to the assembly there.¹

¹ Baillie, vol. ii. pp. 107-112, 117, 120-124, 128-131, 144-149, 181, 182, 186, 187, 195, 198, 199, 204, 205, 242-250. Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 400-404. Collier, vol. viii. p. 247-252.

The Directory and the Form of Church Government having been laid before the general assembly by Baillie and Gillespie, the former minister, in what appears to have been a speech prepared for the occasion, contrasted the state of matters a few years back, when his countrymen were threatened by the English bishops with the yoke of Episcopacy, ceremonies, and the Service Book, with what they now beheld—Episcopacy plucked up by the roots, and the Service Book abolished; Scottish Presbytery set up by an English assembly and parliament; and the practice of the Scottish Church established in room of the Liturgy in all the king's dominions. The Directory was examined, unanimously approved of, and ordered to be observed and practised throughout the kingdom, and it was enjoined that a printed copy should be provided for each church; it being declared, however, in regard to the administration of the Lord's Supper, that the rule as to communicants sitting about the table or at it should not be interpreted, as if it were indifferent, and free to any of them not to come and receive at the table, or as if the practice was agreed to of the minister's distributing the elements, instead of the communicants distributing among themselves. The Directory was afterwards ratified by the parliament of Scotland.

In like manner, the propositions concerning church government, and the ordination of ministers, were examined and approved of by the assembly; and the commission of assembly was authorised to agree to an uniformity between the two kingdoms on the points therein mentioned, as soon as the same should be ratified by the parliament of England; it being declared free to discuss further the article which set forth that the doctor, as well as the pastor, had power to administer the sacrament, and the question regarding the distinct right of the presbyteries and the people in the calling of ministers.¹

The Directory for Public Worship began with a preface, which set forth that the Book of Common Prayer, however well-intended by its compilers and useful at first, had become an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the Reformed Churches abroad, in consequence of which there

¹ Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 416-434. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 255-260. Balfour, vol. iii. p. 267. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 193, and Act of 6th February, 1645, prefixed to the printed copies of the Directory.

was a necessity to lay it aside, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God, and to substitute the Directory in its place. The Directory then proceeded to give instructions as to the several portions of divine worship, arranged under various heads.

The people were enjoined to enter the assembly for the public worship of God in a grave and seemly manner, and to take their seats without adoration, or bowing themselves towards one place or other. On the congregation being assembled, the minister was to begin with prayer, for which some brief directions were given. The public reading of the Holy Scriptures was to be performed by the pastors and teachers, but those intended for the ministry might occasionally read and preach, if allowed by the presbytery. All the canonical books of the Old and New Testament were to be read, but not the Apocrypha; the exact portion being left to the wisdom of the minister, though one chapter from each Testament was recommended. After reading the word, and singing a psalm, the minister was to say another prayer, of which the general purport was given, and then to begin his sermon, for which also certain directions were prescribed. The sermon was to be followed by a prayer; and the Lord's Prayer, as being not only a pattern of devotion, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, was likewise recommended to be used. A psalm was to come next, and the minister was then to dismiss the congregation with a solemn blessing.

In regard to the administration of the sacraments, it was ordered that Baptism should not be unnecessarily delayed; but it was to be administered only by a minister, and in the place of public worship, in presence of the congregation. Before Baptism, the minister was to use some words of instruction and admonition concerning the sacrament. He was then to demand the name of the child, and to baptize it, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, by pouring or sprinkling water on its face, without adding any other ceremony. He was to conclude with prayer and thanksgiving. The Communion or Supper of the Lord was frequently to be celebrated, but the precise times were to be fixed by the ministers and other governors of each congregation. The administration was judged to be most convenient after the

morning sermon. The minister was to make a short exhortation, and the table being decently covered, and so conveniently placed that the communicants might orderly sit about it, or at it, he was to begin the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements of bread and wine. The words of institution were to be read from the Evangelists, or from the First Epistle to the Corinthians. A general direction was given for the form of the blessing.

Brief injunctions were laid down in regard to the observance of the Lord's day. Marriage was to be solemnised by a minister in the place appointed for public worship, at a convenient hour, and before a competent number of witnesses. There was a recommendation that it should not be solemnised on the Lord's day. The minister was to pray for a blessing on the man and woman, and to explain the institution and objects of marriage, after which the parties were to make the prescribed promise and vow, and the minister was to pronounce them husband and wife. Ministers were enjoined to visit the sick, to admonish and comfort them, and, if desired, to pray with them. The bodies of the dead were to be decently attended to the place of burial, and there immediately interred without any ceremony. Praying, reading, and singing at the burial, were expressly forbidden, but the minister, if present, might remind the friends of the deceased person, as at other times, of their duties. Solemn fasts were to be kept by a total abstinence from food, so far as possible, and from all worldly labours and amusements, and by attendance at public worship. Thanksgivings were to be observed by attendance at public worship, and by collections for the poor. The singing of psalms was to be encouraged, both publicly in the congregation, and privately in the family. In regard to days for public worship, it was declared that the only day required by the Scriptures to be kept holy was the Lord's day, which is the Christian Sabbath. The observance of festival days, vulgarly called holy days, having no warrant in God's word, was to be discontinued. In regard to places for public worship, it was declared that, as no place was capable of any holiness by dedication or consecration, so neither was it subject to pollution by any superstition formerly used; and therefore places of public worship were still to be employed for that purpose.

The Form of Presbyterian Church Government and of Ordination of Ministers, after a preface shewing that Christ had appointed officers for the edification of his Church, and perfecting of his saints, declared that one general Church visible, and particular Churches, members of that general Church, were set forth in the New Testament. The officers appointed by Christ for the edification of his Church were either extraordinary, as apostles, evangelists, and prophets, who had ceased; or ordinary and perpetual, as pastors, teachers, and other church governors, and deacons. To the pastor's office it belonged to pray publicly and privately with his flock; to read the Scriptures publicly, to preach, to catechize, and to administer the sacraments; to bless the people; to take care of the poor; and to rule over the flock. The teacher or doctor, as well as the pastor, had power to minister the word and sacraments, and was particularly useful in schools and universities. When there were several ministers in the same congregation, they might properly divide the occupations of pastor and teacher; where there was only one, he was to perform, as far as he could, the whole work of the ministry. As in the Jewish Church elders of the people were joined in ecclesiastical government with the priests and Levites, so, in the Christian Church, officers, commonly called elders by the Reformed, had a share in the government. Deacons had no authority to preach or administer the sacraments, their duty being to attend to the poor.

The establishment of particular congregations was lawful and expedient, and these were best distinguished by the bounds of their dwellings. In each congregation there was to be one officer at least, both to labour in the word and doctrine, and to rule, to whom others were to be joined in the government, and others for the relief of the poor. These officers were to meet together, and at the meetings it was most expedient that they who laboured in word and doctrine, should moderate. It was lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the Church should be governed by several sorts of assemblies, viz., congregational, classical, and synodical. The classical assembly, or presbytery, consisted of the ministers of the word, and other church governors. Synodical assemblies were of several sorts, as provincial, national, and ecumenical.

They were composed of pastors and teachers, and other church governors, and also, where expedient, of other fit persons.

No man was to take upon him the office of a minister of the word without a lawful calling. Ordination was the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church office, and was always to be continued in the Church. Every minister of the word was to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it did belong. He was to be duly qualified for his office; to be examined and approved by those by whom he was to be ordained; and not to be ordained for a particular congregation, if the members could shew just cause of exception against him. But, in extraordinary cases, something extraordinary might be done, the rule, however, being still observed as nearly as possible. Directions were given as to the examination and ordination of ministers. If a minister designed to a particular congregation had been formerly ordained according to the mode previously used in the Church of England, due care was to be had of his examination; but his ordination was to be held valid, and not to be disclaimed or repeated. A like rule was to be observed regarding ministers ordained in Scotland or other Reformed Churches.

The various points mentioned in the Form of Church Government and Ordination were illustrated by an ample array of texts from Scripture. No reference was made to the practice of the Church in any age, except in so far as mentioned in the Scriptures.

Such were the rules laid down by the Westminster Assembly, and approved of by the general assembly in Scotland, for the public worship of God, the government of the Church, and the ordination of ministers; and which were designed to supersede the Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordinal in England, and the formularies previously in use in Scotland. The change in regard to England implied the subversion of the episcopal polity, and also of the ancient services and ritual which had been preserved and purified at the Reformation. They who now sought to abolish those majestic offices, the heritage of the Western Church, were as ignorant of their history and real meaning, as they were incapable of appreciating their beauty. Even in Scotland, the alteration was con-

siderable. The semblance of daily prayer which had hitherto been continued, the Creed in the ordinary service and at Baptism, the Gloria Patri at the end of the Psalms, were now abandoned by those who had contended for them against the extreme Puritanical party. The public reading of the Scriptures, and the use of the Lord's Prayer in the weekly service, still preserved some faint appearance of liturgical order; but these, though possessing the warrant of the Directory, did not long keep their place in opposition to the feeling which had become predominant.

CHAPTER LVIII.

FROM THE APPROBATION OF THE DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP, AND THE FORM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT, IN FEBRUARY, 1645, TO THE SURRENDER OF THE KING BY THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS IN JANUARY, 1647.

Dr. John Forbes refuses to sign the Solemn League and Covenant—He leaves Scotland—His return—His death—Robert Burnet of Crimond refuses to sign the Solemn League and Covenant—His exile—His correspondence with Archibald Johnstone of Warriston—His account of Bishop Sydsenf—Death of Archbishop Laud—Rising of the Gordons—The Marquis of Montrose—His victories—His defeat—Cruelty of the Covenanters—Execution of Sir Robert Spottiswood and other Royalists—Ruin of the King's cause in England—He seeks refuge with the Scottish army—Controversial papers between the King and Henderson—Death of Henderson—His character—Surrender of the King by the Scottish Covenanters.

THE enthusiasm which had been displayed in Scotland when the National Covenant was signed was renewed on the ratification of the Solemn League and Covenant. The people were taught to believe that submission to it was essential to their welfare, both as Christians and as citizens; and that it was their duty to force its subscription on every individual within the British kingdoms. Although many disliked the obligation thus imposed upon them, few dared openly resist. It does not appear that a single parochial minister refused to subscribe; but, of the deprived clergy who had rejected the first Covenant, one, the most distinguished of his order, now also declined to give obedience to the second.

It has been mentioned that in April, 1641, Dr. John Forbes had been deposed from his office of professor of theology in the University of Aberdeen. His conduct after his deprivation continued to be marked by the same meekness, the same conscientious submission to the order now established

in all things which he did not believe to be positively sinful. He attended the public services of the Church, and received the communion from the Presbyterian ministers, and would have gladly discharged his former functions as a teacher, had the Covenanters allowed him. He firmly refused, however, to sign the National Covenant, or to admit the unlawfulness of Episcopacy. In answer to a deputation from the provincial synod of Aberdeen, he declared that he still retained his former opinions, but that he wished to hold them modestly and peaceably; that Episcopacy was lawful and agreeable to God's word, and not destructive of the Presbytery, or inconsistent therewith; and in those Churches, which are governed only *communi presbyterorum consilio*, that the want of a bishop, though an economical, was not an essential defect, neither taking away the true nature of a Church, nor making void its ordination and jurisdiction.

When subscription of the Solemn League and Covenant was enjoined on all, under the pain of civil and ecclesiastical censures, Forbes resolved to leave his country, rather than wound his conscience by sinful compliances; and, on the fifth of April, 1644, he embarked on board a vessel at Aberdeen. "Surely," says Spalding, in mentioning his exile, "this was an excellent, religious man, who feared God, charitable to the poor, and a singular scholar; yet was put from his calling, his country, his friends, and all, for not subscribing our Covenant, to the grudge and grief of the best." On the tenth of April, he landed at Campvere, in Zealand, and on the following Sunday preached in the English church at Middleburg, at the request of the pastors there. He spent the first winter of his banishment at Amsterdam, superintending the printing of his learned work, the *Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ*, which was published at that city in 1645, with a dedication to King Charles. His Diary shews that he continued to preach frequently during the years 1644, 1645, and 1646, to the English congregations at Middleburg, Amsterdam, Delft, and Utrecht, and to communicate in the English, Dutch, and French churches in the United Provinces. In July, 1646, he returned to Scotland, and went to reside at his own castle of Corse, continuing to frequent the public services at the parish church of Leochel, without being urged to subscribe

the Covenant. The rest of his life was spent in this quiet seclusion, but no details of it have been preserved. His Diary ends on the twenty-second of July, 1647; and the last entry mentions that, in that year, he frequently preached in his castle hall to his servants and tenants, because there was no sermon in the parish church on account of the illness of the minister. He died at Corse, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1648, being then in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was interred in the family burying place in the churchyard of St. Marnan at Leochel. No monument was ever erected over his grave.

Dr. Garden has left a few memorials of the personal habits and appearance of John Forbes. He was low in stature, and of a dark complexion. He used no chair in his study, but read and wrote leaning on his desk. He often walked about in the fields, meditating on heavenly things. His chief recreation was playing at golf, but, when he heard the bells ringing for prayers, he would immediately leave his game, and hasten to church. It is unnecessary to enlarge on his character. In learning he probably surpassed all other Scottish divines; his humility, his piety, his meekness, and his charity, appear in the record of his spiritual life which he left behind him, and in every authentic memorial of his actions.¹

Among those who, like Forbes, preferred exile to submission to the new Covenant, was a learned and religious layman, Robert Burnet of Crimond, brother of Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys, and father of Bishop Burnet. He had been carefully

¹ Garden's Life of Dr. John Forbes, pp. 58, 59, 70; and Forbes's Diary, p. 258-265. Spalding, vol. ii. p. 317, and appendix, p. 499-504. The chief writings of Dr. Forbes have been published several times. An edition, embracing all his Latin works, was printed at Amsterdam, in 1702, and 1703, containing a Life of the author by Dr. George Garden, one of the ministers of St. Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen, and his Diary, translated into Latin, so far as not originally written in that language. The original Diary, which is in the possession of the representatives of his family at Fintray house, Aberdeenshire, has never been printed. Orem, in his History of Old Aberdeen (ed. 1791, p. 85), mentions that Dr. Forbes, a short time before his death, requested his friends to obtain permission "from the minister of St. Machar, and the Presbytery of Old Aberdeen," to have his body interred beside his father and his wife, in Bishop Dunbar's aisle, within the cathedral of Aberdeen, but that this was refused. Dr. Garden takes no notice of this circumstance, and the statement appears to be of doubtful authority.

educated, and had studied the civil law on the Continent. He afterwards practised as an advocate at Edinburgh, and, before the dissensions broke out, was thought by some to be a Puritan, on account of the strictness of his life, and perhaps from his family connexions, his wife being a sister of Archibald Johnstone of Warriston. Alexander Jaffray, in his Diary, speaks in high terms of Burnet, with whom he resided for some time during the year 1632, acquiring, he says, a knowledge, not only of the procedure of the courts, but of the practice of holiness and charity. When Burnet saw that the reforming party really aimed at the overthrow both of Episcopacy and monarchy, although he did not believe in the divine right of the one, or in the unlawfulness of resistance under any circumstances to the other, he took a firm and active part in their defence. To avoid signing the National Covenant, he retired for some time to England. After his return to his own country, he was called upon to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, but stedfastly refused to do so, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of his wife and her brother. He was allowed to leave Scotland, and continued abroad for some years, residing in France and other parts of the Continent.

During his exile, Burnet kept up a correspondence by letter with his brother-in-law, Warriston. One of these letters, written, apparently from Paris, in 1644, or 1645, contains an interesting notice of the deprived Bishop of Galloway. Referring to a communication which he had received from Johnstone, he expresses his sorrow for the desolate condition of Scotland, and declares his belief that a heavy account will have to be rendered by some who would rather see all the three kingdoms destroyed, than not have their own wish. "God forgive," he says, "your bloody and cruel practices, who have not known, and will not know the way of peace." He then alludes to a report that Bishop Maxwell and Bishop Sydserf were residing at the same place with himself, mentioning that this was incorrect as to the former, but that the latter was then living in the same house. "I could have wished," he adds, "he had not come here, as long as I had been here, rather to have satisfied other men's scruples, whom I have no intention to offend, than my own; for the

Lord is my witness, to whom I must answer at the last day, I think there was never a more unjust sentence of excommunication than that which was pronounced against some of these bishops, and particularly against this man, since the creation of the world; and I am persuaded that those who did excommunicate him did rather excommunicate themselves from God, than him; for I have known him these twenty-nine years, and I have never known any wickedness or unconscientious dealing in him; and I know him to be a learned and more conscientious man (although I will not purge him of infirmities more than others) than any of those who were upon his excommunication." The Protestant ministers at Paris would willingly have admitted the bishop to communion, notwithstanding his excommunication by the Covenanters; "but," says Burnet, "he communicates with the English." "All Scots and English here," he continues, "both of one party and other, respect him; and I assure you, he defends the Protestant religion stoutly against Papists, and none of our Scots Papists dare meddle with him, after they had once essayed him. Be not too violent, then, and do as you would be done to; for you know not how the world will turn yet."¹

Archbishop Laud had remained in the Tower since his impeachment, without being brought to a formal trial, but, in the beginning of the year 1644, the proceedings against him were renewed. One of the articles of the impeachment was, that he had maliciously and traitorously endeavoured to stir up war between England and Scotland, and that he had laboured to introduce into Scotland divers innovations, both in religion and government; but, on his pleading the act of oblivion, which had been passed subsequently to the measures complained of, it was agreed that he was entitled to the benefit of it, and the accusation was thenceforth confined

¹ Garden's Life of Dr. John Forbes, p. 63. Tytler's Life of Sir Thomas Craig, pp. 327, 329. Diary of Alexander Jaffray, 3rd ed. p. 44. Hailes' Memorials and Letters of the reign of Charles the First, p. 72-75. Burnet's letter to Wariston has no date, and Hailes inserts it under the year 1639, apparently supposing that it was written soon after the National Covenant and the Glasgow assembly; but the reference which it makes to the "last Covenant," and the whole circumstances connected with it, evidently point to the date mentioned in the text.

to his alleged offences against the laws and religion of England. The Commons finally abandoned the impeachment, and proceeded with a bill of attainder. The bill was speedily carried through their own house, but it was with reluctance that the few peers who sat in the Upper House gave their consent. A pardon from the king, under the great seal, which the archbishop produced, was disregarded, and he was condemned to death by an ordinance of the two houses, for crimes which the consulted judges had unanimously declared not to amount to treason. It has frequently been asserted that he was sacrificed to the hatred of the Scots, but there is no evidence that they took an active part in the proceedings against him at this time: it was the English, not the Scottish Puritans, that were his persecutors. On the tenth day of January, 1645, Laud received the crown of martyrdom.¹

In the spring of 1644, the Scottish royalists made an attempt to free their country from the tyranny of the Covenanters. The Marquis of Huntly rose in the North; but his soldiers were soon dispersed, several of his chief followers were taken, and he himself was obliged to seek refuge in the wilds of Strathnaver. Montrose, who about this time was created a marquis, headed a similar enterprize in the south of Scotland, and was equally unsuccessful. The commission of the general assembly pronounced a summary excommunication against Huntly, Montrose, and others, for refusing to sign the Covenant, and for rising in arms against the estates; and an order was made that this sentence should be read in every church in the kingdom. Two of Huntly's adherents, Sir John Gordon of Haddo, and John Logie, son of the Archdeacon of Aberdeen, and a royalist gentleman of Nithsdale, Sir James Max-

¹ Spalding has inserted in his *Memorials* (vol. ii. p. 436-441) the archbishop's address on the scaffold, copies of which, it appears, were circulated in Scotland, and produced a good effect even in that country. "I have here," he says, "set down the speeches of this ancient, reverend prelate, whereby he clearly going to death vindicates himself from accusations against established laws and religion, and purges our sovereign lord in regard to inbringing of Popery; yet he is done to death. He had some prayers which I have here omitted. Thus is he gone the way that the mighty deputy of Ireland went, after three years' captivity, for their faithful service to the king, as many men thought. Howsoever it was, the printing and spreading of this paper was taken notice of by many that were persuaded to the contrary, and made them conceive a better opinion, both of the king and this great prelate, who were otherwise traduced."

well, were condemned to die, and were beheaded at Edinburgh. They were the first in Scotland that during the troubles suffered death for a political offence; and their persecutors endeavoured, by every circumstance of ignominy, to impress on the spectators, as well as on the victims, that loyalty now was treason. At the execution of Haddo, a herald proclaimed with a loud voice that the parliament had found him worthy of death, a villain, and a traitor, and thereupon tore the baron's coat of arms, and threw it over the scaffold. Gordon looked on unmoved. Immediately before his death, he uttered a short prayer, concluding with these words, "I recommend my soul to God, and my six children to his majesty's care, for whose sake I die this day."¹

The Covenanters were still further elated by the success of their army in England, and by the capture of Newcastle. Among the prisoners taken in that town were the Earl of Crawford, and Dr. George Wishart, the deprived minister of St. Andrews, now one of the clergy of Newcastle. Both were carried to Edinburgh, and subjected to a rigorous imprisonment in the common jail. Crawford was attainted by an ordinance of the estates, and his title was conferred on his kinsman, the Earl of Lindsay. In January, 1645, Dr. Wishart petitioned the convention for assistance to preserve himself, his wife, and children, from starvation, and some relief was ordered to be given to him during his imprisonment.²

The next effort of the royalists was attended with better success. In the autumn of 1644, the Marquis of Montrose began that course of achievements which has made his name so illustrious. Six battles were fought, in all of which his opponents were defeated. His last and greatest victory was at Kilsyth, in August, 1645. The estates had no longer an army in the field. Edinburgh and Glasgow surrendered to Montrose; and the Ayrshire burghs, the stronghold of Puritanism, made professions of loyalty, and implored his forgiveness. The Earl of Crawford and other noble captives were released, and Dr. Wishart came with them to their deliverer's camp, and became the marquis's chaplain. At this time, Sir

¹ Spalding, vol. ii. pp. 361, 362, 387-391. Guthrie, p. [131]-[133]. Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, p. 56.

² Guthrie, p. 133. Balfour, vol. iii. pp. 235-237, 261, 262.

Robert Spottiswood arrived from England, bringing with him a royal commission, by which Montrose was appointed lieutenant-governor and captain-general of the northern kingdom. The marquis was now at the height of his renown. He summoned a parliament to meet at Glasgow on the twentieth of October, and cherished the hope of marching at the head of a Scottish army into England, and recovering that kingdom also for his master.

The expectations entertained by Montrose were disappointed by the rout of Philiphaugh. The Covenanters recovered their superiority, but their victory was stained by a cruel persecution of the vanquished royalists. Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvie, son of Sir John Ogilvie of Inverquhar, a youth of eighteen, were beheaded at Glasgow in the end of October. On the twenty-sixth of November, the estates met at St. Andrews, Edinburgh being unsafe in consequence of the pestilence which was then prevalent in Lothian. Warriston exhorted them to do justice on Malignants, saying that their dallying formerly had provoked God's two great sergeants, the sword and the pestilence, who had ploughed the land with deep furrows. He added that the massacre at Kilsyth was never to be forgotten, and that God, who was the best judge of the world, would not but judge righteously, and keep in remembrance that sea of innocent blood which lay before his throne, crying for vengeance on those blood-thirsty rebels the butchers of so many innocent souls. The commission of the assembly also demanded that justice should be done on the Malignants; and special petitions to the same effect were presented by the provincial assemblies of Fife, Dumfries, Merse and Teviotdale, and Gallo-way. The convention returned a gracious answer to these petitions. On the twenty-third of December, the Irish prisoners taken at Philiphaugh were ordered to be executed without any assize or process whatever. Lord Ogilvie, eldest son of the Earl of Airlie, Sir Robert Spottiswood, William Murray, brother of the Earl of Tullibardine, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and Andrew Guthrie, son of the Bishop of Murray, were formally accused of treason, and the parliament itself proceeded with their trial. They pleaded that they acted under the royal commission, and also that they had received

quarter when taken prisoners. Both pleas were disregarded, and all the accused were condemned to death. Ogilvie escaped from prison by the aid of his sister; the others were beheaded at St. Andrews.

The execution of Gordon, Guthrie, and Murray, was much lamented; but a deeper feeling was excited by the death of Spottiswood. This gentleman, the second son of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews, had filled the important office of president of the highest civil court in the kingdom, and now held his master's commission as secretary of state for Scotland. His worth, his learning, the gentleness of his character, his high office, had no effect in mitigating the enmity of his persecutors. His real crime in their eyes was that he was the son of an archbishop, and that he had adhered with stainless loyalty to the cause of his sovereign and the hierarchy. On the day before his execution, Sir Robert wrote a letter to Montrose, requesting that he would continue, as before, his endeavours to regain the attachment of the people to the king, by fair and gentle carriage, rather than by imitating the barbarous inhumanity of his adversaries, and recommending his orphan children, and his brother's house, to his care. During his confinement he had been visited by Robert Blair, who laboured in vain to persuade him of his guilt. When he was led out to execution on the morning of the twentieth of January, 1646, the same preacher accompanied him to the scaffold. Sir Robert professed his innocence of the crimes laid to his charge; justified the king's proceedings in regard to his subjects in England and Scotland; and declared that the excommunication of the bishops was lying as a grievous sin upon the land. While he was engaged in his private devotions, Blair rudely interrupted him, and asked whether he and the people would pray for the salvation of his soul. Sir Robert answered that he desired the prayers of the people, but did not wish for his prayers, which he believed were impious, and an abomination before God, adding, that of all the plagues with which the offended majesty of God had scourged the nation, this was the greatest—greater than the sword, fire, or pestilence—that, for the sins of the people, God had sent a lying spirit into the mouths of the prophets. The preacher, turning to the people, desired them to recollect that Spottis-

wood was himself the son of a false prophet, the pretended Archbishop of St. Andrews. Sir Robert, taking no farther notice of him, knelt before the block. His last words were, "Merciful Jesus, gather my soul to thy saints and martyrs, who have run this race before me." His body was buried privately by an old servant of his father.¹

In the beginning of the year 1645, commissioners appointed by the king and the parliament met at Uxbridge, for the purpose of attempting an accommodation. Henderson took a leading part in the discussions on behalf of the Puritans. Charles was willing to allow a limitation of the episcopal prerogatives, but refused to abolish the hierarchy, and to establish the Presbyterian government and worship. The concessions proposed by the king having been rejected by his subjects, the conferences came to an end. It was well for the monarchy and the Church that the terms proposed by the parliament were not agreed to, but the immediate results of the renewal of the struggle were most disastrous. The battle of Naseby, in June, 1645, was fatal to the royal cause in England. The defeat at Philiphaugh put an end to all hope of assistance from Scotland. After another vain attempt to bring about an accommodation, the king left Oxford, in the end of April, 1646, and sought refuge with the Scottish army, which was then besieging Newark.

Charles was received with every profession of respect, but he soon discovered that he was to be treated as a prisoner, rather than as a sovereign. The Scots retreated to New-castle, and, at that place, another series of negotiations commenced. The king agreed to yield up all the fortresses which still held out for him, and commanded Montrose to disband

¹ Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, English Translation, ed. 1819, pp. 222-224, 236-246, 433, 434. Balfour, vol. iii. p. 307-364. Guthrie, p. 160-169. Howell's *State Trials*, vol. iv. p. 767-818. *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 178-180. *Spottiswood Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 201-209. *Life of John Welsh—Select Biographies*, edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. i. p. 28. There are four contemporary accounts of the death of Spottiswood, one by Bishop Wishart, the other three by enemies of his name and cause, the author of the *Life of Blair*, and the writers of two letters reprinted in the *Spottiswood Miscellany*. On the chief points they all substantially agree. I have said nothing in the text of the alleged interview between Sir Robert and young Lochiel, the day before the execution, because it rests entirely on the somewhat doubtful authority of the writer of *Lochiel's Memoirs*.

his forces, and leave Scotland. When further urged to subscribe the Covenant, and establish Presbyterianism, he declared that he was willing to confer with any of his subjects on the points in dispute, and to yield to their demands, if satisfied in his conscience of their lawfulness; but beyond this he would not go. The Scots had been induced to suppose that, having granted so much on former occasions, his resistance to what was now demanded would soon be overcome. Henderson had argued at Uxbridge, that his consent to subvert the hierarchy in Scotland was inconsistent with the absolute unlawfulness of abolishing it in England; and Baillie, in a letter written while the king was at Newcastle, declared that no one would believe that it was from any conscientious principle he stood fast by Episcopacy. The argument of the one was as inconclusive, as the assertion of the other was uncharitable and untrue. But the bigotry of the Covenanters was such, that they were hardly able to understand how others could sincerely hold opinions different from their own; and their obstinacy in demanding implicit submission from all was not lessened by the circumstance, that he who now requested liberty of conscience for himself was the sovereign whom they still professed to obey.

The king's offer, however, to listen to any argument that could be adduced in opposition to his ecclesiastical opinions, was one which could not be disregarded, and Henderson was selected as the champion of Presbyterianism. Charles proposed that some learned divine of the English Church should maintain the cause of Episcopacy; but, on this being declined by Henderson, it was agreed that the king should defend his own opinions, and that the discussion should be carried on in writing. The first paper came from Charles, and was dated the twenty-ninth of May. After mentioning that no one thing had made him more reverence the Reformation of the Church of England, than that it was done, in the Apostle's words, "neither with multitude, nor with tumult," but legally and orderly, by those who, he conceived, had the reforming power, and that for this and other reasons he had always been confident the work was very perfect as to essentials, including ecclesiastical government—he added, that his opinion was turned into more than confidence, when he perceived that in

government, as in other points, nothing was retained but what was found to be the constant, universal custom of the primitive Church, deduced from the Apostles' times. This point of ecclesiastical government was of so much consequence, that an alteration of it would deprive the members of the Church of a lawful priesthood; and how in that case the sacraments could be duly administered, it was easy to judge. These, he said, were sufficient reasons why he should think bishops necessary for a Church, and why he should refuse to consent to their expulsion from England. But he had also another reason—his coronation oath—by which he was bound to maintain Episcopacy. He concluded by asking what warrant there was in the word of God for subjects to endeavour to force their king's conscience, or make him alter laws against his will.

Henderson's paper in answer was dated the third of June. He agreed with the king that it was desirable that religion should be reformed legally and orderly, and by those who had the reforming power—not, however, by the prelates, who had the greatest need to be reformed themselves, nor by the multitude, whom God stirreth up when princes are negligent. The English Reformation was an imperfect one, and he trusted the glory of completing it was reserved to his majesty, so that the praise of King Josiah might be his; but, if the opportunity now given were neglected, he trembled to think of the event; he would neither use the words of Mordecai to Esther, nor those of Savonarola to another Charles, because he hoped for better things from his majesty. To the king's argument from the constant practice of the Church, he answered, that what was not in the Apostles' own times, could not be deduced from them. But it was clear that in those times there was no difference between a presbyter and a bishop, all power whether of order or jurisdiction being common to both. Farther, the argument from the practice of the primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers, was a fallacious one, and was used by the Papists for such traditions as no orthodox divine would admit. The law and the testimony must be the rule. There was no certain knowledge of the practice of the Church for many years. And he could never think his majesty would deny the lawfulness of the ministry, and the due administra-

tion of the sacraments, in those Reformed Churches which had no diocesan bishops, since it was manifest from the Scriptures, and admitted by many of the strongest defenders of Episcopacy, that presbyters might ordain presbyters, and that Baptism administered by a private person, or by a woman, was not the same thing as when ministered by a presbyter not ordained by a bishop. In regard to the coronation oath, while in the taking and keeping of oaths, being so sacred a thing, much tenderness was required, yet, when the parliaments of both kingdoms had agreed to alter a law, the king was not bound in conscience to observe it, otherwise no law could be altered by the legislative power; and on that ground episcopal government had been removed from Scotland, and the bishops' seats in the parliament of England had been taken away.

On the sixth of June, a reply was sent by the king. He stated that, if Henderson could have shewn that Presbyterian government existed in primitive times, he would have done well for his argument. He averred that that form of government was never used before Calvin's time, and he called on his opponent to prove that it was. He denied the fallaciousness of his reasoning. If the practice of the primitive Church and the universal consent of the Fathers was no argument where the interpretation of Scripture was doubtful, then, of necessity, the interpretation of private spirits must be admitted. And to say that an argument was bad because the Papists used it, or that a certain thing was good because some of the Reformed Churches practised it, would have no weight with him, till it could be proved that the latter were infallible, or that the former maintained no truth. When he was made a judge over the Reformed Churches, and not till then, would he censure their actions; but he would not admit, without proof, that presbyters, apart from bishops, could lawfully ordain. In regard to the administration of Baptism, as no one would say that a woman could lawfully administer it, though when done it was admitted to be valid; so no one ought to do it but a lawful presbyter, who, it could not be denied, was absolutely necessary for the sacrament of the Eucharist. As to the coronation oath, it was not the parliament, but the Church of England, in whose favour he took the oath, which could release him from its obligation; and when that Church,

lawfully assembled, should declare that he was free, then, and not before, he would esteem himself so. He ended by reminding Henderson that he had not answered the concluding question in his first paper, remarking, "It may be, you are, as Chaucer says, like the people of England, 'what they not like, they never understand.'"

Henderson again wrote on the seventeenth of June. In regard to the king's demand for proof of the existence of Presbyterian government before Calvin, he said that the answer was the same as to the Papists' question, Where was your Church before Luther. It was from the beginning, and was to be found in Scripture; and accordingly the Church of Jerusalem was governed by a presbytery, as had been shown by the divines at Westminster, and so also were the Churches of Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica, and others. To the king's question twice put as to subjects forcing the conscience of their sovereign, he avoided a direct answer, but alluded to the case of persons being urged to that which was good and lawful, though from error of conscience they judged it to be evil and unlawful.

There were three other papers from the king, dated the twenty-second of June, and the third and sixteenth of July. In his last paper, dated the second of July, Henderson still more decidedly maintained that no great weight was due to the authority of the Fathers, or the practice of the primitive Church, denying the correctness of the common opinion that the Church nearest the Apostles' time was the most pure and perfect, and quoting the saying of a Scottish divine, who professed that he had learned more from one page of Calvin, than from a whole treatise of Augustine.

This discussion was remarkable, not only on account of the circumstances in which it took its rise, and the station and character of the parties, but as showing the great change which had taken place in the nature of the controversy respecting Episcopacy. The king did not merely maintain that it was a lawful, or a preferable form of ecclesiastical government; he contended also that it was essential to the ordination of the ministry, and therefore to the valid consecration of the Eucharist. Henderson, on the other hand, while speaking in general terms of Episcopacy as a corruption, practically contended for

the simple lawfulness of Presbyterian ordination. In regard to the language and temper of the controversialists, they deserve the highest commendation. Charles wrote with the dignity and courtesy which became a king; and Henderson uniformly showed the deference which was due from a subject, while he avoided all expressions of flattery or praise, as one who knew them to be unworthy both of himself and of his sovereign.

It was unfortunate for the Presbyterians, and probably also for Charles, that Henderson did not long survive the conference. For some time his health had been failing, and the anxieties of his position contributed much to increase his infirmities. The utter failure of his attempt to convince the king weighed on his spirits; and it is not unlikely that the nearer intercourse, to which he had been admitted, may have enabled him to appreciate Charles more truly, and may have made him feel more acutely the responsibility of the proceedings in which he was engaged. On the tenth of August he left Newcastle, and returned to Scotland by sea. On the nineteenth of the same month he died at his own house in Edinburgh, being then in the sixty-third year of his age.¹

Henderson was the most eminent of the Scottish Presbyterian ministers. Irreproachable in private life, of respectable learning, and of the very highest political ability, he was peculiarly fitted to be the leader of his party. While sharing

¹ Aiton's *Life of Henderson*, pp. 588-599, 633-660. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 382-387. Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, pp. 277, 278. A report came abroad, soon after the decease of Henderson, that on his death-bed he had expressed his repentance for the part which he had taken against the king, and had exhorted his friends to atone for their errors by labouring to restore their sovereign to his just rights; and a declaration was published, which, it was alleged, he had made to that effect. A similar account was repeated in the beginning of the following century, on the authority of a statement made to Bishop Sage by Robert Freebairn, Archdeacon of Dunblane, who was in his youth a Presbyterian minister, and who alleged that he was one of four persons to whom Henderson solemnly communicated his change of opinion. The character of Sage affords a sufficient assurance that he related only what he heard from his informer; but neither the original rumour and alleged declaration, which were formally contradicted by the general assembly of 1648, nor the statement of Freebairn, after an interval of many years, is in any way sufficient to prove the fact of the recantation. The anxieties of Henderson's latter days, and the favourable impression which the king's piety and courtesy left on his mind, will easily account for whatever portion of truth there may have been in the story.

in the violent proceedings by which the commencement of the troubles was marked, and in the still less excusable measures connected with the establishment of the Solemn League and Covenant, he was not personally harsh or vindictive. In his intercourse with the supporters of the hierarchy, he avoided the unbecoming language so common among the Puritans, and his demeanour to his sovereign was uniformly respectful—contrasting favourably with the rudeness of Melville, and the bitter uncharitableness of Knox.

In the meantime, the negotiations were still going on at Newcastle. If Charles could have complied with the wishes of the Scots in regard to religion, he would probably have gained their support in the other points in dispute with the English parliament; but, had he done so, he would have stained his conscience and his honour, alienated his most faithful adherents in England, and soon have incurred the distrust and contempt of many of those who now urged him to submit. Foremost among these evil counsellors was Hamilton. That nobleman had been created a duke in 1643, but had been imprisoned soon afterwards on a charge of disloyalty, and had only been released when the place of his confinement was taken by the army of the parliament in April, 1646. He now repaired to Newcastle, and was welcomed by Charles with the cordiality which marked the intercourse of earlier years. The duke entreated his master to yield, using arguments similar to those by which he had induced him to abolish Episcopacy in Scotland; but the king was now better able to see their worthlessness, and, declaring that his conscience was dearer to him than his crown, refused to accept the propositions of the English parliament, while he offered to come to London in person, in order to arrange the points in dispute, on receiving a satisfactory assurance of his safety and freedom.

The estates of Scotland met in November for the purpose of adopting a final resolution regarding the king. The members, generally, were desirous to come to reasonable terms with their sovereign, but the assembly, not the parliament, was now the ruling power, and the barons and burgesses were afraid to act in opposition to the ministers. When the more loyal members proposed a moderate resolution, "the better

sort," to use the words of Baillie, before giving an answer, "desired a public fast in the parliament, and the advice also of the commission of the Church." On the seventeenth of December, the commission accordingly met, and drew up a paper entitled "A solemn and seasonable warning to all estates and degrees of persons throughout the land," in which they lamented the indulgence shewn to many who had been active "in the late execrable rebellion;" denounced all who endeavoured to make a breach between the kingdoms, or a party contrary to the Covenant, under pretence of preserving the king and his authority; and solemnly declared that, if his majesty would not satisfy the just desires of his people, both nations were obliged, by their inviolable Covenant, to pursue the ends therein expressed against all lets and impediments whatsoever.

The estates acquiesced in the views of the commission, and, after some farther proceedings, intimated to the king, that, if he came to Scotland without agreeing to the propositions, he would be kept under restraint, and the kingdom would be governed without him, as in the years bypast. On again receiving a negative answer, the estates, on the sixteenth of January, 1647, agreed to surrender their sovereign to the parliament of England. In the end of the same month, the Scottish army left Newcastle, receiving £100,000, as an instalment of the money agreed to be paid for their services, and the king was delivered to the English commissioners, by whom he was conducted to Holmby.¹

The surrender of Charles by his Scottish subjects has found apologists, some of whom have tried to justify it as not contrary to any duty, others to excuse it as the only course consistent with the safety of the northern kingdom. The justification and the excuse are alike unavailing; it admits of no defence, and of no palliation.

¹ Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 390-398. Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, pp. 489, 490. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. pp. 239, 240. Baillie, vol. iii. pp. 4, 5. Life of Robert Blair, p. 192-196. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 279-312.

CHAPTER LIX.

FROM THE SURRENDER OF KING CHARLES BY THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS
IN JANUARY, 1647, TO HIS DEATH IN JANUARY, 1649.

General Assembly of 1647—The Westminster Confession of Faith approved of—Account of that Formulary—Treaty between the King and the Scottish Commissioners—Struggle between the Parliament and the General Assembly—General Assembly of 1648—The Westminster Catechisms approved of—The Duke of Hamilton enters England—He is defeated by Cromwell—The extreme Covenanting party obtains the ascendancy—Cromwell invited to Edinburgh—Henry Guthrie deposed—The Act of Classes—Death of King Charles the First.

THE General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the fourth of August, 1647. Some opposition to the prevailing party was threatened by the more moderate among the ministers. Those who took a lead in this movement were William Colville, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Andrew Fairfoul, minister at Leith. They were strongly attached to the monarchy, and probably had no great objection to Episcopacy ; and they were supported by some who, like Calderwood, were zealous Presbyterians, but disliked the private meetings for prayer now much encouraged by the popular preachers. They attempted to procure the election of Colville as moderator, but Robert Douglas was chosen, though only by a majority of four. Baillie and Gillespie, who had returned from London, gave an account of the chief proceedings which had taken place in the English Assembly of Divines, since the approbation of the Directory. Each of these commissioners made a formal speech. Baillie referred particularly to the merits of Henderson, declaring that he ought to be esteemed, after Knox, the fairest ornament of the Church of Scotland. Gillespie stated that the Confession of Faith, which was now to be submitted to them, had been so framed as to meet all the principal errors of the time, Socinian, Arminian, Popish,

Antinomian, Anabaptistiañ, and Independent. It had been much commended, he said, by those who had seen it, even by some of the prelatical party. The Divines were at that time busy with a Catechism, which was to be divided into two portions, a short one to suit the capacity of the common and unlearned, a larger for those of understanding. The establishment of Presbyterian government had been much hindered by various parties—by the Erastians, by the Independents, by the supporters of a moderate prelacy, and by those too who had no objections to Presbyterianism, provided they had liberty to come under it or not as they pleased; and this liberty of conscience was become a common plea, not only with the sectaries, but also among the prelatical party, Dr. Taylor, the king's chaplain, having written a book in defence of it.

The assembly proceeded to examine the Confession of Faith, and, after mature deliberation, approved of it, and agreed that it should be the common confession of the three kingdoms; declaring, however, that the not mentioning therein of the several sorts of ecclesiastical offices and assemblies should be no prejudice to the Christian truth in these particulars, and that some parts of the second article of the thirty-first chapter, regarding the power of magistrates in calling synods, were to be understood only of Churches not settled or constituted in point of government.¹

The Confession of Faith was divided into thirty-three chapters. The first chapter was entitled, "Of the Holy Scripture." Under that name were to be included the books of the Old and New Testament, all of which, it was declared, were given by the inspiration of God to be the rule of faith and life. The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, were no part of the canon, and therefore of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be approved or made use of more than other human writings. It was stated that men might be moved by the testimony of the Church to a high and reverent esteem of the Scripture; and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the scope of the whole, and other excellencies, were

¹ Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 468-483. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 10-20, and appendix, p. 450-454.

abundant evidences of its being the word of God ; yet the full assurance of its infallible truth and divine authority was from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in the heart of men. The infallible rule of the interpretation of Scripture was the Scripture itself ; and therefore, when there was a question about the true and full sense of any part, it was to be searched and known by other places that spoke more clearly. The supreme judge, by which all controversies in religion were to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits were to be examined, could be no other than the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture.

The second chapter, "Of God and the Holy Trinity," set forth the unity of the Godhead in three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost : the Father of none, neither by others, nor proceeding ; the Son eternally begotten of the Father ; and the Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son.

The third chapter, "Of God's eternal Decree," declared that God, from all eternity, had unchangeably ordained whatsoever was to come to pass ; yet so that thereby God was not the author of sin, nor was violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor was the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels were predestinated to everlasting life, and others fore-ordained to everlasting death. None were redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only. The rest of mankind God was pleased to pass by, and ordain to dishonour and wrath, for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice.

The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, were entitled, "Of Creation ;" "Of Providence ;" "Of the Fall of man, of Sin, and of the punishment thereof ;" and "Of God's Covenant with man."

The eighth chapter, "Of Christ the Mediator," set forth the divinity and humanity of our Lord, in conformity with the ancient creeds, and almost in their language. The next ten chapters, "Of Free Will," "Of Effectual Calling," "Of Justification," "Of Adoption," "Of Sanctification," "Of

Saving Faith," "Of Repentance unto life," "Of Good works," "Of the Perseverance of the Saints," "Of Assurance of Grace and Salvation," contained a formal statement of the Calvinistic doctrine on those various points. The nineteenth and twentieth chapters were entitled, "Of the law of God," and "Of Christian liberty, and liberty of conscience." The twenty-first chapter, "Of religious worship and the Sabbath day," laid down principles similar to those contained in the Directory of Public Worship in reference to the same subject. The twenty-second chapter treated "Of lawful oaths and vows."

The twenty-third chapter, "Of the Civil Magistrate," declared that the civil magistrate might not assume to himself the administration of the Word and Sacraments or the power of the keys. Yet he had authority to take order for the preservation of peace and unity in the Church, that the truth might be kept entire, blasphemies and heresies suppressed, abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled and observed. And for the better effecting thereof, he had power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever was transacted in them should be according to the mind of God. Infidelity, or difference in religion, did not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people of their due obedience to him, from which ecclesiastical persons were not exempted.

The twenty-fourth chapter, "Of Marriage and Divorce," laid down rules similar to those observed by the Church of England regarding unlawful marriages. But divorce was to be allowed, after due and formal proceedings, on the ground either of adultery, or of such wilful desertion as could not be remedied by the Church or civil magistrate; and, in the case of divorce for adultery, the innocent party was to be allowed to marry, as in the case of the offending party being dead.

The twenty-fifth chapter, "Of the Church," after defining the Catholic or universal Church, which is invisible, to consist of the whole number of the elect, declared that the visible Church, the house and family of God, out of which there was no ordinary possibility of salvation, consisted of all throughout the world who professed the true religion, and of their children.

To this Catholic visible Church, Christ had given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God. Particular Churches, members of this universal Church, were more or less pure, according as the doctrine of the Gospel was taught and embraced, ordinances administered, and public worship performed, more or less purely. The purest Churches were subject to mixture and error; and some had so degenerated, as to become no Churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan. But there would always be a Church on earth, to worship God according to his will. There is no other Head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ. The Pope of Rome was in no sense the head thereof, but was that Antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition, who exalteth himself in the Church against Christ, and all that is called God.

The twenty-sixth chapter was entitled, "Of Communion of Saints."

The twenty-seventh chapter, "Of the Sacraments," declared that there were only two sacraments ordained by Christ, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, neither of which might be dispensed by any but a minister of the word, lawfully ordained. The sacraments of the Old Testament, in regard of the spiritual things thereby signified and exhibited, were for substance the same with those of the New. Of Baptism, the twenty-eighth chapter declared that it was not only for the solemn admission of the person baptized into the visible Church, but also to be a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of his engrafting into Christ, of regeneration, and of remission of sins. Although it was a great sin to contemn or neglect this ordinance, yet grace and salvation were not so inseparably annexed to it that no person could be regenerated or saved without it, or that all who were baptized were undoubtedly regenerated. Of the Lord's Supper, it was declared by the twenty-ninth chapter, that it was appointed to be observed in the Church till the end of the world, for the perpetual remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ, the sealing of all benefits thereof to true believers, their spiritual nourishment and growth, and as a pledge of their communion with Him, and with each other. In this sacrament Christ was not offered to the Father, nor was there any real sacrifice made for the remission of sins, but only a commemoration of the one

offering upon the Cross. Worthy receivers, outwardly partaking of the visible elements in this sacrament, did then also inwardly, by faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally and corporally, but spiritually, receive Christ crucified, and all the benefits of his death.

The thirtieth chapter, "Of Church Censures," declared that the Lord Jesus, as King and Head of his Church, had appointed a government therein in the hands of church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate. To these officers were given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, by virtue of which they had power to retain and remit sins, to shut that kingdom against the impenitent both by the word and censures, and to open it to penitent sinners by the ministry of the Gospel, and absolution from censures, as occasion should require.

The thirty-first chapter, "Of Synods and Councils," was that which in part was thought by the Scottish assembly to require interpretation. It declared that, as magistrates might lawfully call synods of ministers, and other fit persons, to advise with on matters of religion, so, if magistrates were open enemies of the Church, the ministers of Christ of themselves, by virtue of their office, or with other fit persons delegated from their churches, might meet in such assemblies. It belonged to synods and councils to determine controversies of faith, to set down rules and give directions as to public worship and the government of the Church, and to decide complaints in cases of maladministration. Synods and councils were not to intermeddle with civil affairs, unless by way of humble petition in cases extraordinary, or by way of advice, if asked by the civil magistrate.

The thirty-second chapter, "Of the state of men after Death, and of the Resurrection of the Dead," declared that all sorts of the righteous, immediately after their separation from the body, being made perfect in holiness, were received into the highest heaven, there to await the full redemption of their bodies; and so the souls of the wicked were cast into hell, there to remain till the judgment of the great day. The thirty-third chapter, "Of the Last Judgment," set forth that, at the last day, all men would appear before the tribunal of Christ, to give account of their thoughts, words, and deeds, and to receive according to what they had done in the body,

whether good or evil. The end of God's appointing that day was for the manifestation of the glory of his mercy in the eternal salvation of the elect, and of his justice in the damnation of the reprobate who were wicked and disobedient.

Such were the chief doctrines of the new Confession, which now superseded that which had been drawn up by Knox and his associates. In their general principles, as well as in their language and character, there was a substantial agreement between the two ; in some important respects, the difference was obvious. The Westminster Confession was more distinct in regard to the authority of the ministry, and of ecclesiastical synods ; but, in its definitions of the sacraments, it departed still farther from the faith of the ancient Church ; and, on the subject of the divine decrees, and other points connected with that question, it maintained the opinions of Calvin, with a strictness and precision much beyond the expressions of the older formulary.

In the meantime, the king had been carried off from Holmby by the army. He was treated by the soldiers with more respect than he had received from the parliament, being allowed the attendance of his chaplains, and occasionally the company of his children. Weary, however, of his captivity, he escaped from his residence at Hampton Court, but, on repairing to the Isle of Wight, found himself again a prisoner. While he was still at Hampton Court, a negotiation had been opened with him by Hamilton and the moderate party in Scotland, through the Earl of Loudon, who was still chancellor of the kingdom, the Earl of Lanark, Hamilton's brother, and Lord Maitland, now, by his father's death, Earl of Lauderdale. These noblemen followed Charles to the Isle of Wight, and there a treaty was finally concluded. The king became bound to confirm the League and Covenant by act of parliament, and to establish the Presbyterian form of church government, and the Directory for public worship, for three years ; after which, it was to be determined by his majesty and the two houses of parliament what form of government, most agreeable to the word of God, should be established, consultation being first had with the Assembly of Divines, and with certain clergy of the king's nomination. It was on the other hand agreed by the Scottish commissioners, that the Covenant should not be im-

posed on those who had conscientious objections to it, and that the king and his household should not be hindered from using their accustomed form of divine service. And, in respect of the concessions thus made by their sovereign, the commissioners engaged that the Scottish nation should use their endeavours to have liberty given to his majesty to come to London in freedom and honour, to carry on the negotiations there, and, if this were refused by the English parliament, that the Scots would maintain the king's rights by force of arms. This treaty was signed on the twenty-sixth of December, and, as the king at the same time rejected the propositions of the parliament, his confinement at Carisbrook Castle was made more rigorous than before.

The concessions made by Charles in this treaty, modified as they were from what was formerly required of him, were such as he ought not to have agreed to. But his situation was beset with difficulties: he had to decide between apparently conflicting duties; and that judgment of his conduct will be most just, which makes the most charitable allowance for his struggles and perplexities, amid the snares, and deceit, and treason, by which he was surrounded.

The Scottish commissioners, having succeeded in their negotiation, returned to their own country, and gave a report of the substance of their proceedings to the committee of the estates, and afterwards to the convention itself. Their conduct met with the approbation of the majority; but the faction of Argyll, supported by the commission of the assembly, openly expressed their dissatisfaction. The commission declared that the king's concessions were unsatisfactory; and demanded that none of the Malignants should be admitted to offices of trust, and that the king should by oath bind himself and his successors to consent to acts of parliament for confirming the Covenant, and settling the Presbyterian form of church government, the Directory, and the Confession of Faith. The three noblemen urged the king to make still farther concessions, but, as he peremptorily refused, the estates, after considerable wavering, resolved to make good the engagement of the commissioners.

Two years before, Baillie stated that Warriston, with the help of Argyll and the ministers, had up to that time kept the parliament right against a powerful party. Warriston and

his friends, however, were no longer able to contend against the reviving loyalty of the nation. All the peers, except Argyll, Eglington, Cassillis, Lothian, Arbuthnot, Torphichen, Ross, Balmerino, Cupar, Burleigh, and, sometimes, Loudon and Balcarres, gave their support to Hamilton; more than half of the barons, and nearly half of the burgesses, including the representatives of the important towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews, also voted with the duke; but, among the minority, were those who, from the beginning, had been the chief promoters of the Covenant. The real struggle was between the parliament and the assembly. The estates having drawn up a declaration containing a statement of the principles on which they were acting, an answer was prepared by the commission of the Church, and ordered to be read by every minister in the kingdom. The commission also enjoined all ministers, under pain of deposition, to preach against the engagement to support the king. In the month of June, the differences between the two parties attained so great a height, that about two thousand of the Covenanters of Clydesdale, Kyle, and Cunningham, who assembled in arms at Mauchlin-moor under their ministers, were dispersed with some bloodshed by General Middleton, and the soldiers of the parliament.¹

Such was the distracted condition of Scotland, when the general assembly met on the twelfth of July, 1648. Three of the most influential of the lay elders were absent. Argyll and the chancellor, the latter of whom had now entirely abandoned the party of the Hamiltons, had retired to their own houses to avoid signing the bond of maintenance of the new levies ordered by parliament; and Warriston was in concealment, for the same reason, and also because he dreaded that, in his capacity of Lord Advocate—an office to which he had been appointed on the death of Sir Thomas Hope—he might be called on to plead against the ministers accused of heading the insurrection at Mauchlin. But Cassillis, Lothian, Balmerino, and other peers and barons, were present. Apprehensions had been entertained that the moderate party might

¹ Baillie, vol. ii. p. 345; vol. iii. p. 32-50. Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 313-354. Guthrie, p. 207-230. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 528-541. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. vi. pp. 289-294, 305-310, 321, 322.

prove formidable in the assembly, as well as in the parliament, and exertions were therefore made, and with entire success, to have those only chosen as commissioners, who were zealous against the engagement; hostility to this obligation being now almost as indispensable as attachment to the Covenant formerly was. George Gillespie, one of the most violent champions of the party opposed to the engagement, was chosen moderator. Both the Larger and the Shorter Catechism of the Divines at Westminster, which were now complete, were examined and approved. These formularies were little else than the Confession of Faith in the shape of question and answer, and differed from the Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer, as much in structure as in doctrine. The members of assembly were aware of the unfitness of one of the catechisms for the purpose intended. Baillie mentions that the Shorter Catechism was thought too long and too obscure for common people and children, and Dickson was requested to improve it, but his new draft was objected to for the same reasons. Both catechisms contained the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. The Creed was not inserted; but it was appended to the printed copies, as "a brief sum of the Christian faith agreeable to the word of God, and anciently received in the Churches of Christ." An act was passed by the assembly, by which all young students were ordained to take the Covenant at their first entry to college, and all persons whatsoever to do so at their first receiving of the Lord's Supper.

It was with some difficulty that the members had been induced to bestow a portion of their time on theology; they took much more interest in political discussions, which they now looked on as their chief business. Having examined the proceedings of the commission—its declarations, remonstrances, representations, petitions, vindications, and other papers relative to the engagement—they unanimously found that it had been faithful in the discharge of its trust, and ratified all its acts, particularly these papers, and its judgment of the unlawfulness of the obligation to which they referred. On the twenty-fifth of July, in answer to a document sent to them by the committee of the estates, the assembly again declared, that they saw no possibility of securing religion, so long as

the engagement was persisted in. They reiterated the demand formerly made by the commission, that the Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant party, as well as the sectaries, should be declared enemies to the cause, and all association with them avoided ; that his majesty's concessions on the subject of religion, sent from the Isle of Wight, should be held unsatisfactory ; that, before the restitution of his majesty to the exercise of his royal power, assurance should be had by solemn oath, under his hand and seal, for settling religion according to the Covenant ; that no quarrel should be owned on behalf of his majesty's negative voice ; that the management of public affairs should be entrusted only to persons of undoubted integrity ; and that there should be no engagement without a solemn oath that the Church ought to have the same interest which it had in the League and Covenant.

On the third of August, the assembly passed an act, by which all ministers were ordained, under pain of deposition, to preach against the public sins and corruptions of the time, against profaneness, defection from the League and Covenant, the unlawful engagement, the plots and practices of Malignants, and the principles of Erastianism ; and, if any of them should be railed at, mocked, or threatened, or receive violence for so discharging their duty, the offenders, unless they satisfied the Church by public repentance, were to be excommunicated. The assembly itself proceeded against some of the obnoxious ministers. Andrew Ramsay, who had taken a leading part in favour of the National Covenant at the beginning of the troubles, and had been moderator in the Aberdeen assembly of 1640, and William Colville, were suspended. The former had actively supported the engagement ; the only accusation against the latter was that he had not preached against it. Ramsay had also given great offence by maintaining that " the supreme magistrate, when the safety of the commonwealth does require, may dispense with the execution of justice against shedders of blood." The moderator wished the negative of this proposition to be expressly determined, but the members would not go that length.

The parliament and the general assembly, which by their united influence had established the Presbyterian government and worship, enforced the two Covenants, and exercised the whole power of the Church and State for the last ten years,

were now at open strife. The anarchical principles contended for in former times by Melville and his associates were once more avowed and acted on. Now, however, the estates, unlike the supreme civil authority in the reign of James, not only declined to interfere with the spiritual prerogatives of the ecclesiastical courts, but even shrunk from vindicating their own undoubted jurisdiction.

On the twelfth of August, the assembly addressed to the king what they called a humble supplication, but what in reality was an insolent invective against their sovereign and the parliament of Scotland, accusing Charles of having already caused the blood of many thousands to be shed by his obstinacy, and warning him no longer to despise the word of exhortation, or incur the wrath of the Lord of Hosts, who brings down the mighty from their throne, and scatters the proud in the imagination of their hearts. After this, the assembly rose, having continued its sittings for a full month. The moderator, George Gillespie, did not long survive: he died in the end of the same year.¹

At the very time that the general assembly was without check denouncing the measures proposed by the civil power for the king's relief, the army of the estates, under the command of the Duke of Hamilton, had entered England. This army was the most numerous which had yet been sent from Scotland, but it was not really formidable in proportion to its numbers. Among those in command were some experienced and gallant officers. Hamilton, however, possessed no military talent; the soldiers had been hastily levied; and many of them were discouraged by the determined hostility of the ministers. It was also unfortunate that, before they marched southwards, the risings of the English royalists had generally been suppressed. In passing through Lancashire, the duke imprudently allowed his army to advance in several divisions, and, while it was thus separated, he was attacked and defeated by Cromwell, in the neighbourhood of Preston. He attempted to retreat to Scotland, but was obliged to surrender, along with the greater part of his forces.

This disastrous event, which occurred in the middle of August, was fatal to the king's cause in Scotland. The

¹ Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 495-520. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 52-65.

ministers looked on the defeat of Hamilton as a divine judgement on the supporters of the engagement; the western Covenanters rose in arms; and the party of Argyll again acquired the ascendancy. After some feeble attempts at resistance, the committee of the estates abandoned the struggle, and agreed that the affairs of religion should be settled by the assembly, and those of the kingdom by a parliament which was to meet in January. Cromwell having advanced to the neighbourhood of Berwick, Argyll and other commissioners went to meet him, and invited him to Edinburgh. In the capital, the English general was received with the highest respect. He had a separate residence and a guard of honour assigned to him, and before his departure was entertained at a banquet in the castle, at which Argyll, Leven, and other leading men of their party, were present. While he was at Edinburgh, Dickson, Blair, and James Guthrie, waited upon him as a deputation from the commission of the assembly. It is related in the Life of Blair that Cromwell had a long discourse with them, and that he professed his good intentions, sometimes shedding tears, and calling God to witness his sincerity. Blair, who had formerly some acquaintance with him in England, asked his opinion of monarchical government. Cromwell answered that he was for it, and in the person of the king then reigning, and of his children. When his opinion regarding toleration was requested, he declared that he was altogether against it. When farther asked what he thought of church government, Cromwell said that the examination was too severe; he must take time to deliberate. After they had left him, Dickson remarked, "I am very glad to hear this man speak as he does." "If you knew him as well as I do," said Blair, "you would not believe one word he says."

In the month of November, the commission of the assembly established its authority in the refractory presbyteries of Stirling and Dunblane, by deposing Henry Guthrie and other ministers.

The convention of estates met at Edinburgh on the fourth of January, 1649. It was entirely composed of enemies to the engagement, or of those who had renounced it; and only fourteen peers were present. Several high officers of state and

judges of the supreme court were deprived of their office ; all acts of the parliament or of its committee, in favour of the engagement, were repealed ; the insurrection at Mauchlin was formally approved of ; and, by an act, called the Act of Classes, all persons opposed to the successful faction were debarred from offices of trust, or exposed to certain disabilities, according to the particular measure of their offences.¹

The attention of the whole nation was now fixed on the events which were taking place in England. From the period of his arrival in the Isle of Wight, the king had remained in captivity at Carisbrook Castle, except during the conferences with the parliamentary commissioners at Newport. With the failure of these, the last hope of a treaty was at an end. He was removed from the island, and, after a brief residence at Hurst Castle and Windsor, was brought to London. His trial before the pretended high court of justice began on the twentieth of January. The details need not be entered into. No act or word of Charles was unworthy of his kingly dignity. He had never been so loved and revered by the great body of his people as he now was ; but, unable to deliver him from the soldiers, they looked on with awe and horror. Sentence was pronounced on Saturday, the twenty-seventh of January. On the twenty-ninth, he took leave of his children, Henry and Elizabeth. On the morning of the thirtieth, he received the Holy Communion from Bishop Juxon, and on the afternoon of the same day was beheaded before his own palace at Whitehall.

¹ Guthrie, p. 235-253. Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 354-375. Balfour, vol. iii. p. 373. *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 208-212. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 341-356.

CHAPTER LX.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES I. IN JANUARY, 1649, TO THE
CORONATION OF KING CHARLES II. IN JANUARY, 1651.

Execution of the Duke of Hamilton—Charles the Second proclaimed King in Scotland—Act abolishing Patronage—Execution of the Marquis of Huntly—Negotiations between the Scottish commissioners and the King—General Assembly of 1649—Andrew Ramsay and William Colville deposed—Eighteen ministers deposed in Angus and Mearns—Renewal of the negotiations with the King—Expedition of Montrose—His defeat and execution—The King arrives in Scotland and subscribes the Covenant—General Assembly of 1650—Cromwell invades Scotland—He defeats the Covenanters and takes possession of Edinburgh—Remonstrance of the Western Covenanters—Distracted condition of the kingdom—Coronation of King Charles at Scone.

THE execution of Charles was soon followed by that of Hamilton. The duke was confined for some time at Windsor, and in the month of December was permitted to see the king for a few minutes. He knelt down, kissed his hand, and said, "My dear master." "I have been so indeed to you," was the answer of Charles, while he kindly embraced him. Hamilton, under his English title of Earl of Cambridge, was brought to trial for having levied war against the parliament, and was condemned to die. He was beheaded on the ninth of March.¹

The Scottish estates, through their commissioners at London, had feebly remonstrated against the king's murder; and, when intelligence of that event was brought to them, his eldest son, Charles, was immediately acknowledged as sovereign, and was proclaimed at the market cross of Edinburgh, on the fifth of February. Two days afterwards, however, an act was passed, by which it was declared, that neither the young king, nor any of his successors, should be admitted to

¹ Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, pp. 379, 385-405.

the exercise of the royal power, until, in addition to the coronation oath, they had sworn and subscribed the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant; had consented to acts of parliament establishing the Presbyterian form of church government, the Directory, Confession of Faith, and Catechisms; and had agreed to observe them in their own practice and family, and never to oppose or endeavour to change them. It was also declared that, before the present king should be admitted to the exercise of his power, he should forsake all counsel and counsellors prejudicial to religion and the Covenants, and consent that all civil matters should be settled by the parliament, and all ecclesiastical matters by the general assembly. On the ninth of March, an act was passed, by which—on the preamble that the estates were bound by the Covenants to maintain the liberties of the Church, and advance the work of reformation, and that the patronage of churches was an evil and a bondage, without warrant in God's word, and introduced in times of ignorance and superstition—all patronages and presentations to churches were thenceforth to be abolished, and a recommendation was given to the general assembly to determine the interests of congregations and presbyteries in providing churches with ministers. The estates adjourned, after having appointed the Earl of Cassillis and three others of their number as commissioners to wait upon the king in Holland, and to offer him the crown on the conditions proposed.¹

Lord Balmerino died suddenly on the twenty-eighth of February.² He was one of the ablest statesmen of the time, and never allowed his judgment to be swayed either by covetousness or fanaticism; but his character is darkened by the deep, implacable resentment, which he cherished against the king.

A few days subsequently to the commissioners' departure, the Scottish rulers shewed the true nature of their professions of loyalty to their sovereign, by putting to death one of the most faithful and illustrious of his subjects. From the commencement of the troubles, no one had pursued a more honourable and consistent course than the Marquis of Huntly. Soon

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. pp. 363, 364, 411-413.

² Balfour, vol. iii. p. 388.

after Montrose left Scotland in obedience to the command of Charles the First, Huntly was seized, and carried prisoner to Edinburgh. The ministers urged his immediate execution, but at that time were unable to effect their object. The king wrote to the Earl of Lanark from his own prison at Carisbrook, entreating him to use every endeavour to save the life of the marquis. When the Hamiltons obtained the support of a majority in the estates, they had it in their power to shew their respect for their sovereign's commands by releasing Huntly; but either they were still jealous of one whose stainless loyalty rebuked their own ambiguous policy, or they were afraid to provoke the ministers. According to Burnet's narrative, the latter was the real cause. He adds, that they informed the marquis that, as they could not openly set him at liberty, they were willing to connive at his escape from the castle, for which they offered their assistance; but he declined to avail himself of their proposal, saying that he had been brought thither by order, and he would not steal out like a thief.

The change of government which took place on the defeat at Preston was unfavourable to Huntly; yet it might have been expected that the Scottish estates, after their sovereign's death, which they professed to lament, and while carrying on negotiations with his successor, would hesitate to commit another judicial murder. The preachers, however, renewed their demand for the marquis's execution, declaring that through his constant standing out he had been the cause of misery and bloodshed to the kingdom. Huntly made no effort to defend himself, but told his friends that, since his master was gone, he did not desire to live, and that the greatest felicity he had was his hope to follow him to a better world. The nobles were unwilling to condemn the marquis, who had simply discharged his duty by acting under a royal commission; but the barons and burgesses, urged on by the ministers, had no such hesitation, and, when sentence was to be pronounced, most of the peers absented themselves from parliament. Huntly had been married to a sister of Argyll, and Patrick Gordon mentions that his three daughters entreated that nobleman to endeavour to save their father's life, but that he refused to interfere.

The marquis, at his own request, was visited in prison by Andrew Ramsay. On the twenty-second of March, the day appointed for his execution, he came down from the castle, dressed in the mourning garb which he had worn since the king's death. Several of the ministers offered their services at the scaffold, and asked whether he wished to be released from the excommunication which had been formerly pronounced against him; but he declined to speak to them, saying that he had already made his peace with God, and that he neither valued nor feared their censures. He declared that he forgave all men, and that he was innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, though conscious of his frailty in other respects; and entreated the people not to allow themselves to be seduced from obedience to their sovereign by the doctrine or example of any men whatever, nor to adhere to the unjust proceedings of the Church and State as then existing, both of which, he feared, were going too far in a wrong way. He prayed that peace and prosperity might be with the true Catholic and orthodox Church; and, for his opinion as to that Church, he referred them to Andrew Ramsay, who would inform them in private of what he did not wish to speak in the presence of all those who were there assembled. He then wrote a few lines addressed to his son and successor, Lord Lewis, and, having recommended his soul to his Redeemer, laid his head upon the block. "And thus," says the chronicler of his actions, "the cruel and merciless Covenant swept away this faithful and constant royalist to follow his master."

Huntly's eldest son, the Lord Gordon, a brave and accomplished nobleman, but stained at one period of his life by unworthy compliances with the Covenanters, had fallen fighting by Montrose's side, in the field of victory at Alford. His second son, Lord Aboyne, whose loyalty never faltered, had died in exile about the end of the year 1648. He himself was one of the few men of high rank in Scotland who conscientiously adhered to Episcopacy, as well as to monarchy. His life was worthy of the cause which he maintained with such constancy, and the house of Gordon can point to no higher name than that of the second Marquis of Huntly.¹

¹ Patrick Gordon's Short Abridgement of Britain's Distemper, pp. 205. 223-226. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, pp. 333, 353. Wishart's Memoirs

The Earl of Cassillis and other commissioners appointed by the parliament and the Church were admitted to the presence of Charles the Second, at the Hague, on the twenty-seventh of March. On this occasion, and at various other meetings, they endeavoured to prevail on the young king to subscribe the two Covenants, assuring him in that event of the support of his Scottish subjects, and of the whole Presbyterian party. Their arguments were assisted by the influence of the king's brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, and of the Earl of Lanark, now Duke of Hamilton, and the Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, though these noblemen had been obliged to leave Scotland on account of their participation in the engagement. But Hyde, and his other faithful English counsellors, and the Scottish royalists, headed by the Marquis of Montrose, earnestly dissuaded Charles from trusting himself with the party which had betrayed his father. The commissioners, in conformity with their instructions, insisted on a strict compliance with the demands of the estates. They also required the king to dismiss James Graham, as they styled Montrose, and refused, though repeatedly pressed, to say whether the Scottish parliament would insist on bringing the murderers of the late king to justice. Charles was willing to ratify the Covenant, and the Presbyterian government and doctrine, within Scotland; but declined to come under any obligation in regard to England and Ireland, without the consent of the parliaments of those kingdoms. The commissioners returned home, and reported what had taken place to the estates and the general assembly, by whom their whole proceedings were approved of.¹

The assembly, before which the church commissioners laid their report, met at Edinburgh on the seventh of July. Robert Douglas, who had more than once held the office already, was again chosen moderator. He was a person of respectable attainments, and was generally looked up to as the divine best qualified to fill the place of Henderson in the ecclesiastical counsels. The proceedings were, for the most part, of little importance. One act, however, deserves to be

of Montrose, p. 350. Balfour, vol. iii. p. 393. Gordon's History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 545.

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, p. 451-459. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 84-90, and appendix, p. 510-521. Baillie mentions that "an unhappy book," the Icon Basilike, and the death of Huntly, did the commissioners much prejudice.

mentioned, both as marking the views of the party now dominant, and from its connection with the history of after years. In order to carry out the provisions of the late statute abolishing patronage, it was declared that, in the case of a vacancy in any parish, the kirk session were to elect a minister, and, if the person so chosen was approved by the congregation, the presbytery were to proceed to try his qualifications, and, if he was duly qualified, to admit him to the office. If a majority of the congregation dissented from the choice of the session, the matter was to be brought before the presbytery, who were to judge of the same; and, if they found that the dissent was not grounded on causeless prejudices, they were to appoint a new election. When the dissent proceeded from a minority, it was not to be sustained, except on sufficient cause shewn to the presbytery. When the congregation were disaffected or Malignant, the presbytery were to provide them with a minister. There were considerable discussions on the subject of this act. Calderwood maintained that, according to the Second Book of Discipline, the election should be with the presbytery, with power only to the people to dissent for causes to be judged of by the presbytery; while Rutherford contended that the people had a right to elect. The middle course just mentioned was finally agreed to.

Before the sitting of the assembly, many ministers had been deposed in all parts of the country, several of whom, according to Baillie, would have been more fitly punished by a simple rebuke. In the assembly itself, Andrew Ramsay and William Colville, who had been suspended the year before, were now deposed.

Committees, with the most ample powers, were appointed to visit various districts. Baillie mentions that the most zealous persons were put on these committees, even young men lately admitted ministers, in order that they might depose those who were spared by presbyteries and synods. During the autumn, the committee of visitation of Angus and Mearns, in which Cant presided, deposed eighteen ministers and suspended five.¹

¹ Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, pp. 542-559, 588, 589. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 91-97. Lamont's Diary, pp. 8, 9, 12. Balfour, vol. iii. p. 430. Life of Robert Blair, p. 221.

In the beginning of 1650, negotiations between the king and the commissioners of the parliament and assembly were renewed at Breda. Among the commissioners were the Earls of Cassillis and Lothian, Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen, and John Livingstone. Two years before, Livingstone had been translated from Stranraer to Ancrum. He went thither, he says, the more readily, that the parishioners "were generally landward simple people, who for some time before had not had so much of the Gospel as to despise it." Baillic, referring to his translation, mentions that "the benefice was great, and the way to Edinburgh short." The terms proposed by the commissioners were similar to those which Charles had formerly rejected, but the expectations which he then had of assistance from Ireland were now disappointed by the successes of Cromwell; and, acting on the advice of his mother, of the party of the Hamiltons, and of all who were hostile or indifferent to the Church of England, he began, though reluctantly, to think of agreeing to them.

One way remained by which there was a possibility of escaping from a course which he knew to be wrong, and which personally he disliked. The Marquis of Montrose believed that the Scottish nation could still be roused to throw off the tyranny of its civil and ecclesiastical oppressors; and he offered his services to the king for that purpose. Loyalty, with him, was a passion as well as a duty. When the intelligence of the execution of Charles the First was communicated to him, he had vowed that he would dedicate the remainder of his days to the avenging of the murder, and the establishing of his master's son on the throne. He hardly concealed his contempt of those whose devotion to the monarchy was less ardent than his own; and by them, in return, he was hated and feared. During the conferences at the Hague in 1649, Hamilton and other lords of the engagement carried their enmity to Montrose so far that they refused to remain in the same room with him, even in the king's presence. They also requested Charles not to allow the marquis's chaplain, Dr. Wishart, to preach before him, because he had been excommunicated by the Covenanters; but the king shewed a proper sense of his own dignity by disregarding their request.

Montrose, having received a commission from Charles,

empowering him to raise an army for the re-establishment of his authority in Scotland, sailed for that country in the spring of 1650, and, after remaining for some time in the Orkney Islands, landed in Caithness with a small body of soldiers. On his march southwards, he was encountered on the borders of Ross by the Covenanters, under Colonel Strachan, and was defeated. He escaped from the battle-field; but a person with whom he sought refuge delivered him to his enemies, and he was carried prisoner to Edinburgh. It is needless to relate the insults and indignities by which the triumphant Covenanters disgraced themselves in their treatment of the marquis. The parliament condemned him to be hanged, and the sentence was read by Johnstone, now promoted to the office of Clerk Register. Baillie and other ministers waited upon him in prison, and urged him to admit his guilt, so that he might be relaxed from the excommunication under which he lay, but his only answer was a request that they would let him die in peace. On the twenty-first of May, he suffered death in terms of his sentence. Several of his officers were also executed, among whom was John Spottiswood, son of Sir John Spottiswood of Dairsie, and grandson of the Archbishop of St. Andrews.¹

It was for the monarchy that Montrose fought and died; and, from the time he attached himself to the royal cause, no king had ever a more devoted subject. The ecclesiastical disputes had little interest for him, either when he maintained what he then believed to be the cause of national liberty and independence, or when he supported the rights of his sovereign. He is said to have stated to the ministers who visited him in prison that he cared not for the bishops. The authority for this is not altogether to be relied on, but there can be little doubt that the expression conveys his real sentiments. The results of Montrose's enterprises have been absurdly misrepresented by Burnet and some other writers. His victories gave a shock to the power of the Covenanters from which it never recovered; and, for

¹ Life of Robert Blair, p. 222-226. Life of John Livingstone—Select Biographies, edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. i. pp. 163-169. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 61. Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose, p. 335-337. Balfour, vol. iv. p. 8-32. Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 287-289. Napier's Montrose and the Covenanters, vol. ii. p. 530-549.

many years afterwards, the recollection of his heroic career supported the energies of the party which adhered to the house of Stewart.

When Charles learnt the ill success of the marquis, he agreed to the terms proposed by the commissioners. The consent thus given was wrong in itself, and, following so soon after the sanction given to Montrose's expedition, was marked by an utter want of sincerity. Yet blameworthy as his conduct was, that of his Scottish subjects, in forcing on their sovereign an obligation which they knew he detested, was far worse. One of the parliamentary commissioners at Breda, Alexander Jaffray, thus recorded in after years his sense of the proceeding:—"We did sinfully both entangle and engage the nation and ourselves, and that poor young prince to whom we were sent; making him sign and swear a Covenant, which we knew from clear and demonstrable reasons that he hated in his heart. Yet finding that upon these terms only he could be admitted to rule over us (all other means having failed him), *he* sinfully complied with what *we* most sinfully pressed upon him; where, I must confess, to my apprehension, *our* sin was worse than *his*."

Charles sailed for Scotland, accompanied by Hamilton and Lauderdale, who were permitted by the commissioners to attend their sovereign, as a recompense for the exertions which they had used in persuading him to yield to the conditions of the parliament. He landed at Speymouth, on the twenty-third of June, having previously subscribed the Covenant. The two lords of the engagement, and others of his attendants who were suspected by the estates, were dismissed, but he himself was treated with every outward demonstration of respect. He was as powerless, however, and nearly as much under restraint, as his father had been with the army at Newcastle.

What the Covenanters had long been aiming at seemed now to be accomplished. Both the royalists and the moderate party were suppressed, and, by the king's last concessions, they had obtained the support of the name and authority of their sovereign. The general assembly met at Edinburgh, on the tenth of July, and Andrew Cant was chosen moderator. A considerable number of ministers in Orkney and Caithness

were deposed for having submitted to Montrose. Nothing else of importance took place. A declaration was drawn up by the commission, and, after being ratified by the committee of the estates, was presented to Charles for signature. By that document, the king was made to profess his sorrow for his mother's idolatry, and for his father's guilt in being the cause of so much blood of the Lord's people that was shed during the civil wars, his sincerity in subscribing the Covenant, his wish to satisfy the just desires of his English and Irish subjects, and his resolution to prosecute the ends of the Covenant, especially in the reformation of the Church of England; to admit his former sinfulness in opposing the work of God; and to express a hope that, as he now preferred God's interest to his own, so God would now be gracious to him. The king having declined to sign this paper, the commission of the assembly met in St. Cuthbert's Church, or, as it was then called, the West Kirk of Edinburgh, on the thirteenth of August, and prepared another declaration, which was also approved by the committee of the estates, wherein they set forth, that they did not own any Malignant quarrel or interest, that they contended merely on their former grounds, and, as they disclaimed the sin and guilt of the king and his house, so they would not own him except so far as he maintained the cause of God, and disclaimed his own and his father's opposition thereto. Alarmed by the threatening attitude thus assumed, Charles yielded; and, disregarding what was due to his own honour and royal dignity, to true religion, and to his father's memory, he signed the original declaration at Dunfermline, on the sixteenth of August.¹

The recognition of Charles as King of the Scots was viewed as a declaration of war by the regicides who had established a commonwealth in England. Cromwell advanced towards Edinburgh, but was unable to make himself master of that city, which was protected by the Scottish army. After some

¹ Balfour, vol. iv. pp. 61-77, 89-97. Nicoll's Diary. p. 16. Life of John Livingstone—Select Biographies, edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. i. pp. 182, 183. Life of Robert Blair, p. 227-236. Jaffray's Diary, p. 55. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 422-424. Lamont's Diary, p. 26. Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 618. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 530-538. The declaration of 16th August is printed at full length in Wodrow's History, Burns' ed. vol. i. p. 66-68.

time, he retreated to Dunbar, where an engagement took place on the third of September. The Covenanters were defeated, and Cromwell now obtained possession of Edinburgh. Several of the ministers having taken refuge in the castle, the English general invited them to resume their ecclesiastical duties, but they declined to do so. A correspondence took place between Cromwell and the governor of the castle on behalf of the ministers. On the latter charging Cromwell with sanctioning lay preaching, and with breach of the Covenant, he answered, "Are you troubled that Christ is preached? Is preaching so exclusively your function? Doth it scandalize the Reformed Kirks, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant if this be so! I thought the Covenant and these could have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ: if not, it is no covenant of God's approving; nor are these kirks you mention in so much the spouse of Christ. Where do you find in the Scriptures a ground to warrant such an assertion, that preaching is exclusively your function? Though an approbation from men hath order in it, and may do well, yet he that hath no better warrant than that hath none at all. I hope He that ascended up on high may give his gifts to whom he pleases; and, if these gifts be the seal of mission, be not envious though Eldad and Medad prophesy."

In the beginning of October, Charles, disgusted by the tyranny and insults to which he had been subjected, effected his escape, with the intention of joining a body of royalists in the North, but was soon overtaken, and induced to return to his former residence at Perth. This event alarmed the Covenanting leaders. Cromwell was master of the south-eastern provinces; disaffection was spreading among their own most zealous adherents; and, if the whole royal party under the king's orders had united against them, their situation would have been extremely dangerous. From this time they treated their sovereign with more consideration, allowed him to be present at the meetings of the committee of estates, and passed an act of indemnity in favour of the northern royalists. The very measures, however, which conciliated the friends of the engagement, excited the animosity of a section of the Covenanting party, who were at heart opposed to monarchy, and were

prepared to ally themselves with the Independents, rather than make common cause with those whom they styled Malignants. The leading men among them were Patrick Gillespie, minister at Glasgow, brother of George Gillespie; James Guthrie, minister at Stirling, who before the troubles began had been a regent in one of the colleges at St. Andrews, and zealous for Episcopacy and the ceremonies; and Colonel Strachan, who had acquired great reputation by his defeat of Montrose. These persons and their friends, with the sanction of the committee of the estates, had raised in the West a considerable body of soldiers who were entirely at their devotion.

On the seventeenth of October, the officers and ministers of the western army drew up a remonstrance to the committee of the estates, in which, acknowledging their duty to own the king, so far as he owned the cause, they denounced him for walking in the way of his fathers, for opposing the work of reformation, and for granting commission to the apostate rebel, James Graham; censured the treaty which had been made at Breda as precipitate and unsatisfactory; and condemned his admission to the exercise of power before he had given proof of any real change of disposition. They declared that they had hitherto waited till the Lord should make some discovery whether the king's attachment to the cause was sincere; but that they had now clear evidence to the contrary, in his countenancing the Malignants within the kingdom, corresponding with the Marquis of Ormonde, the Earl of Newcastle, and other notorious enemies of the Covenant abroad, refusing to sign the declaration of the committee of estates and commission of assembly till it was in a manner extorted from him, and finally withdrawing himself in order to join the Malignants. Therefore, in terms of the declaration of the thirteenth of August, they disclaimed the sin and guilt of the king and his house, and avowed that they could no longer own him and his interest. They further protested against any design of invading England, and forcing a king on the English nation, and against all employment of Malignants; and demanded that those who had encouraged such proceedings should be removed from the committee of estates, the army, the court, and other places of trust. They also denounced the covetousness and extortion of some of the committee, calling

on them to restore their dishonest gains, by which they had taken advantage of the public and the poor of the land.

In this remonstrance, insolent and fanatical as it was, there was much which all knew to be true. The committee of estates were divided in their opinion regarding it, Argyll censuring its language severely, and Warriston defending or excusing it. It was finally condemned by the majority, though in a guarded manner; but the commission of assembly merely pronounced a gentle rebuke, declining to examine it more particularly, in the hope, as they stated, that the worthy gentlemen and brethren who drew it up would give such an explanation of their meaning as would satisfy both Church and State. On the first of December, the western army was defeated by the English at Hamilton, and Strachan soon afterwards openly joined Cromwell.¹

On the twenty-ninth of October, David Calderwood died at Jedburgh in the seventy-fifth year of his age. His *History of the Kirk of Scotland*—the occupation of many years—as far excels Spottiswood's work in the extent and value of its materials, as it falls short of it in the manner in which they are put together. The numerous documents which it embraces are, for the most part, those which favour the opinions of the author, but their contents are fully and accurately given.²

The parliament, which met in the end of November, was favourable to the readmission of those who had supported the engagement, and took measures to restore them by degrees to their former privileges. It was thought advisable, however, to obtain the sanction of the commission of the assembly; and that body was summoned to meet on the fourteenth of December, to consider what persons could be allowed to join the army. Rutherford and Guthrie wrote letters opposing any concession. Blair, who was present at the meeting, hesitated; but Douglas, Dickson, and Baillie, supported the wishes of the parliament; and, at last, the commission unanimously agreed as to the propriety of accepting the military services, in the

¹ Balfour, vol. iv. p. 97-170. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 106-125. *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 246-249. *Carlyle's Cromwell*, 3rd. ed. vol. iii. p. 76-88. *Select Biographies*, edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. i. p. 334.

² *Irving's Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. i. pp. 316, 317. *Life of Calderwood*, appended to the Wodrow Society edition of his *History*, p. xxxii-xxxiv.

present emergency, of all who had not been excommunicated or attainted, or who were not openly profane and flagitious, or obstinate and professed enemies of the Covenant and the cause of God. This decision of the commission was received with dissatisfaction by many of the zealous ministers, and adherents of the Covenant; and even those who were favourable to it began to doubt whether they had not yielded too much, when they saw not only the friends of the engagement, but also the supporters of Montrose, admitted to commands in the army. The whole kingdom was in a most disturbed condition, and the same persons who had often appealed to the success of their party, as a visible proof of the favour of heaven, now admitted and lamented the change in their fortunes. "Surely," Baillie wrote at this time, "we had never more cause of mourning; the causes what God knows, visible or invisible, confessed or denied, unseen or seen, by all but the most guilty. It cannot be denied but our miseries and dangers of ruin are greater than for many ages have been; a potent victorious enemy master of our seas, and for some good time of the best part of our land; our standing forces against this his imminent invasion few, weak, inconsiderable; our Church, State, army, full of divisions and jealousies; the body of our people besouth Forth spoiled and near starving, they be-north Forth extremely ill used by a handful of our own; many inclined to treat and agree with Cromwell, without care either of king or Covenant; none of our neighbours called upon by us, or willing to give us any help though called. What the end of all shall be, the Lord knows."¹

This season of misery was chosen by the Covenanting rulers for the coronation of their sovereign. It took place at Scone, on the first day of January, 1651. The ceremonial was very different from that of the magnificent inauguration of the late king at Holyrood—different, indeed, from what had occurred in the case of any previous sovereign; for even the maimed rites with which James the Sixth had been crowned at Stirling resembled the ancient forms as nearly as circumstances would allow. The parish church of Scone was pre-

¹ Balfour, vol. iv. p. 171-178. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 126-128. Life of Robert Blair, p. 250-253. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 2.

pared for the occasion. The king having taken his seat, Robert Douglas, moderator of the commission of the assembly, preached a sermon, the text of which was from the twelfth and seventeenth verses of the eleventh chapter of the Second Book of Kings,—“And he brought forth the king’s son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony; and they made him king, and anointed him, and they clapt their hands, and said, God save the king. And Jehoiada made a covenant between the Lord and the king and the people, that they should be the Lord’s people; between the king also and the people.”

The preacher compared the condition of Judah at the accession of Joash with the circumstances in which the Scottish kingdom then was. He enlarged on the ceremony of placing the crown on the king’s head, and argued against the necessity of anointing. The unction was encouraged by popes, and required to be performed by bishops; “but now,” he said, “by the blessing of God, Popery and Prelacy are removed; the bishops, as limbs of Antichrist, are put to the door; let the anointing of kings with oil go to the door with them, and let them never come in again. . . . Kings are the anointed of the Lord, because, by the ordinance of the Lord, their authority is sacred and inviolable. It is enough for us to have the thing, though we want the ceremony.” But the king, he went on to say, was not only to be crowned at that time; he was also to renew a covenant with God and his people, and to make a covenant with the people. The king was bound to maintain the true Reformed religion in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, as then established in Scotland, and to endeavour the reformation of religion in his other two kingdoms, according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches. At the coronation of a king, and his reception by his people, there was a covenant, or mutual contract, between him and them, the conditions of which were to be observed by both; and, if kings abused their power to the overthrow of religion, law, and liberty, they might be controlled and opposed by the estates of the kingdom, as the late king was, but not by private men, pastors, or professors. After alluding to the errors of those who, like the sectaries, had thrown off kingly government altogether, and

of others, like the engagers, who had preferred the interest of the king to that of Christ, the preacher alluded to a third party who would have no duty done at all to a king, lest Christ's interest should be prejudged. In conclusion, he warned the king to beware of imitating the transgressions of his grandfather and father, and not to requite the kindness of faithful men with persecution, or be guilty of apostasy and defection from a sworn covenant.

The sermon was followed by a prayer; after which the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant were read, and sworn to, and subscribed by the king, who also took the coronation oath appointed by the first parliament of James the Sixth. He was then vested with the royal robes, and received the sword of state from the great Constable of Scotland, and the spurs from the Earl Marischal. After this, the crown was placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyll, and the nobles did homage, and the people promised obedience according to the Covenants. The Earl of Crawford next put the sceptre in his right hand, and the Marquis of Argyll placed him on the throne. While the king was seated, Douglas pronounced an exhortation, in which he again enlarged on the iniquity of his royal predecessors, warning him that, if he followed their example, his house would become a desolation. After some further ceremonies, the same minister, standing before the throne, blessed the king, and then, ascending the pulpit, warned both king and people to keep the Covenant which they had taken. The twentieth psalm having been sung, the people were dismissed with a blessing.¹

On the part of those chiefly concerned, this pageant was little else than a repetition of what had already too often taken place—illegal exactions on the one side, and insincere compliances on the other; solemn professions by which the person making them never intended to abide, and which those who demanded them of him must have known he would break as soon as he could safely dispense with them.

¹ See the Form and Order of the King's Coronation, with the Sermon preached on the occasion, printed at Aberdeen at the time, and reprinted in the Phoenix, and other collections.

CHAPTER LXI.

FROM THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES II. IN JANUARY, 1651, TO HIS
RESTORATION IN MAY, 1660.

The Act of Classes rescinded—General Assembly of 1651—Protestation against its lawfulness by Rutherford and others—The Church divided between the Resolutioners and the Protesters—Defeat of the King at Worcester—Scotland subdued by Cromwell—General Assembly of 1652—General Assembly of 1653—The members are dismissed by Colonel Cotterel—Kirkton's account of the state of Scotland at this time—Its utter inaccuracy—Cromwell's ordinance in regard to the Church—Vain attempt to reconcile the Resolutioners and the Protesters—Applications by both parties to Cromwell—Some ministers adopt the opinions of the Independents—Protestation of Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum against a sentence of the Presbytery of Aberdeen—Notices of Bishop Sydserf—Restoration of King Charles the Second.

THE dissatisfaction excited by the answer of the commission of assembly to the inquiry of the estates continued to increase. Various presbyteries expressed their dissent, especially those of Aberdeen and Stirling. The commission, however, stood firm to its decision, and cited its leading opponents before the next general assembly, to answer for their contumacy. It was significant of the change of measures, that a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against Colonel Strachan, and that on the same day General Middleton, after public penance, was loosed from the sentence which had formerly passed against him. Another question having been put by the king and parliament to the commission, whether it was sinful and unlawful, for the defence of the kingdom, to admit those to be members of the committee of estates who were then debarred from public trust, they having first satisfied the Church for their offences, and having been admitted into covenant with their brethren—a favourable answer was re-

turned, and the parliament immediately rescinded the Act of Classes, and admitted into offices of trust many of those who were formerly styled Malignants.

The general assembly met at St. Andrews on the sixteenth of July, Lord Balcarres being the royal commissioner. Cant, as moderator of last assembly, preached in the forenoon, and condemned, though in general terms, the acts of the commission; while Douglas, who preached in the afternoon, spoke in their defence. In a debate which followed, John Menzies, professor of divinity in the Marischal College at Aberdeen, proposed that the members of commission should be excluded from the assembly, because their proceedings had been scandalous, and no scandalous person ought to have a seat in ecclesiastical judicatories. Douglas denied the imputation, but Menzies was supported by Guthrie and Gillespie, while Blair attempted to mediate between them. It was finally ruled that all discussion on the point was irregular, until a moderator had been elected. The votes for that office were divided between Douglas and Blair, but the former was chosen by a majority.

At midnight, on Sunday the twentieth, a hurried meeting took place, in consequence of the alarm caused by the successes of the English, who had landed in Fife. A protestation against the lawfulness of the assembly, signed by twenty-two ministers, was given in by Rutherford, who desired that it might be read, but the reading was delayed till next meeting, which was appointed to be held on the twenty-second, at Dundee. When the members assembled at that place, it was found that all those who had signed the protestation, among whom were Rutherford, Gillespie, Guthrie, Cant, and Menzies, and a considerable number of others, had absented themselves. Rutherford's paper was now read. It protested against the lawfulness of the assembly, because the freedom of election had been interfered with by the commission, because the king's letter, and the commissioner's speech, tended to influence its proceedings after it had met; and because the members of the commission, whose conduct had led to a course of defection, sat in the assembly. Those who had signed the paper were cited to appear before the assembly. In the meantime, the members proceeded to examine the conduct of the former commission;

and, as Douglas was one of those chiefly concerned, Baillie was appointed to act as moderator of the assembly. On examination, the proceedings of the commission were approved of by all present, except seven members. In one point only did they shew any hesitation, and that exception proved still more clearly that the ascendancy of the extreme party was at an end. The declaration at the West Kirk, of the thirteenth of August, was explained to mean only that the king's interest was to be owned in subordination to God, the Church being willing, as its duty was, to maintain his majesty's interest, in that subordination, according to the Covenants. Douglas then resumed the moderator's chair, and Gillespie, Guthrie, and another protesting minister, were deposed; but farther proceedings were stopped by the threatened approach of the English, the alarm of which caused the sudden dispersion of the members.

The result of this assembly was fatal to the unity of the Presbyterian Church. It was thenceforth formally divided into two parties, those that supported the resolutions agreed to by the parliament and the commission, who were named Resolutioners, and those that were opposed to the measures so sanctioned, who were named Protesters.¹

Almost at the same time that the assembly rose, Charles, after attempting without success to dislodge the invaders from Fife, adopted the bold resolution of marching into England. Cromwell, leaving part of his army under the command of Monk, followed the king. A decisive engagement took place at Worcester, on the third of September, and the royalists were defeated. The Duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded, and among the prisoners were the Earl of Lauderdale, and Generals Leslie and Middleton. The king escaped, and, after remaining in concealment for some time, was enabled by the assistance of his faithful adherents to return to the Continent.

Perth had surrendered to Cromwell just before he marched southwards. Monk soon afterwards made himself master of

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. pp. 611, 612, 616. Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, pp. 626-636, 655. Balfour, vol. iv. pp. 235, 240. Life of Robert Blair, p. 256-278. Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 3, 4. Lamont's Diary, pp. 40, 41.

Stirling, and, on the first of September, took Dundee by storm. While the siege of Dundee was going on, a party of the English surprised the committee of estates at Alyth, and seized the Earls of Leven and Crawford, and other noblemen, and several ministers, among whom were Douglas, and James Sharp, minister at Crail, who were all sent prisoners to London. The whole low country of Scotland submitted to the invaders, but the royalists still continued to resist in the Highlands.

For the first time since the reign of John Baliol, the Scottish kingdom was now subdued by a foreign enemy. Fortresses garrisoned by English soldiers kept the country in subjection, and the law was administered by English judges. The sufferings they had undergone had already opened the eyes of the nobles to the folly and wickedness of the policy which at first they had so actively promoted, but all experience was lost on the greater number of the ministers. Originally urged on by others, afterwards acquiring for some time the chief direction of affairs, civil as well as ecclesiastical, and continuing to be the most influential class in the kingdom, they still endeavoured to retain the power which they claimed as their right, and in the exercise of which they had been guilty of so many deeds of cruelty and oppression. But they were no longer allowed to make the secular authority an instrument of their tyranny; and their ambitious and overbearing temper could now only find scope in bitter hatred of each other, and in mutual recriminations. With the overthrow of the monarchy the cause of the late difference was at an end; but, though no practical point continued to be involved in the contest, the animosity between the two parties was unabated. The dispute was carried on in the ecclesiastical courts, and by means of the press, and every synod, almost every presbytery, was divided in opinion.

On the twenty-first of July, 1652, the general assembly again met at Edinburgh, and Dickson, who two years before had been appointed professor of divinity there, was chosen moderator. The members that attended were those who had composed the majority at last assembly; and about sixty-five ministers, among whom were Cant, Rutherford, Gillespie, and Guthrie, and a large number of lay elders, the most con-

spicuous of whom was Warriston, protested against it, as unlawful, unfree, and corrupt. The assembly threatened its opponents with ecclesiastical censures, unless they agreed to depart from their protestation. The Protesters treated this denunciation with contempt; and, in order to protect themselves more effectually against the majority of their own brethren, they sought the protection of the English government, and claimed its favour on the ground of their common enmity to Charles Stewart.

On the twentieth of July, 1653, the general assembly met at Edinburgh. Among the members present was Douglas, who, with the other ministers taken at Alyth, had been released from captivity. Dickson, apparently as moderator of last assembly, began to call the roll, but, while he was so engaged, an English officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Cotterel, entered the room, and commanded silence. He then asked by what authority they met, whether by that of the parliament, of the commander-in-chief, or of the English judges. Dickson answered that they were an ecclesiastical synod, a spiritual court, which meddled not with things civil, and that their authority was from God, and the laws of the land yet unrepealed. He was again proceeding to call the roll, and examine the commissions of the members, when Cotterel declared that he had no time to wait till these tedious forms were over; they must remove and be gone, otherwise he had instructions how to act. Dickson protested in name of the assembly that they were Christ's court, and that any violence done should not hinder their meeting again at a convenient season. He then attempted to say a prayer, but was interrupted by the Englishman, who once more desired them to be gone. The members obeyed. A company of foot-soldiers conducted them to the West Port, from which they were escorted by a troop of horse to Bruntsfield Links. After being ordered to stand till their names were called over and written down, they were forbidden to meet again, and so dismissed.¹

Only sixteen years had elapsed since the influence of a single foreign prelate in the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland

¹ Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, pp. 646-651, 656, 657. *Life of Robert Blair*, p. 285-308. *Baillie*, vol. iii. pp. 225, 226. *Spottiswood Miscellany*, vol. ii. pp. 116, 117. *Lamont's Diary*, pp. 55, 69-71.

was resented as an infringement of national independence, and held to be a sufficient justification for civil war. Now, without one blow being struck in its defence, almost without a word of remonstrance, at the bidding of an English soldier, the general assembly, once so popular, was ignominiously suppressed. The great body of the Scottish nation beheld this event with satisfaction, or with indifference. The royalists saw in it the just reward of rebellion and schism; the Protesters exulted in the overthrow of the tyrannical majority which had cast out those who were more righteous than themselves; many of the persons that were favourable to the existing ecclesiastical system disliked the ministers who ruled in its courts, and who had set up a worse tyranny than they had ever complained of in the hierarchy.

After 1653, no general assembly was allowed to meet, but, in other respects, the government of the Church remained as before, and ecclesiastical discipline was exercised in kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and synods. The civil government was vigorous and firm, and the law courts administered justice impartially between man and man. Except in the Highland districts, tranquillity was restored, and the English garrisons prevented much of the feudal oppression and exactions which formerly prevailed. But the nobility were ruined, and the gentry and the common people were discontented and unhappy. The greatest of temporal blessings—their independence as a nation—had been lost, and they knew that their own turbulence, and treachery, and divisions, had caused its forfeiture.

The admirable ecclesiastical discipline, the zeal for religion and knowledge, the pure morality, which have sometimes been ascribed to the time when the principles of the Covenant were predominant, have scarcely any better foundation than the assertions of Kirkton. Referring specially to the period between the murder of King Charles the First and the landing of King Charles the Second at Speymouth, that writer says:—“Scotland hath been, even by emulous foreigners, called Philadelphia; and now she seemed to be in her flower. Every minister was to be tried five times a year, both for his personal and ministerial behaviour; every congregation was to be visited by the presbytery, that they might see how the vine flourished, and how the pomegranate budded. And there was

no case nor question in the meanest family in Scotland, but it might become the object of the deliberation of the general assembly; for the congregational session's book was tried by the presbytery, the presbytery's book by the synod, and the synod's book by the general assembly. Likewise, as the bands of the Scottish Church were strong, so her beauty was bright; no error was so much as named, the people were not only sound in the faith, but innocently ignorant of unsound doctrine; no scandalous person could live, no scandal could be concerted in all Scotland, so strict a correspondence there was betwixt ministers and congregations. The general assembly seemed to be the priest with Urim and Thummim, and there were not one hundred persons in all Scotland to oppose their conclusions; all submitted, all learned, all prayed, most part were really godly, or at least counterfeited themselves Jews. Then was Scotland a heap of wheat set about with lilies uniform, or a palace of silver beautifully proportioned, and this seems to me to have been Scotland's high noon."

After mentioning the political changes that took place during the ten years which preceded the Restoration, the same author gives the following account of the religious condition of Scotland at the time of the king's return from exile:—"Every parish had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible, yea, in the most of the country all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided of Bibles, either by the parents or their ministers. Every minister was a very full professor of the Reformed religion, according to the large Confession of Faith framed at Westminster by the divines of both nations. Every minister was obliged to preach thrice a-week, to lecture and catechize once, besides other private duties wherein they abounded, according to their proportion of faithfulness and abilities. None of them might be scandalous in their conversation, or negligent in their office, so long as Presbytery stood; and among them were many holy in conversation and eminent in gifts; the dispensation of the ministry being fallen from the noise of waters and sound of trumpets to the melody of harpers which is, alas, the last mess in the banquet; nor did a minister satisfy himself except his ministry had the seal of a divine approbation, as might witness him to be really sent from God.

Indeed, in many places the spirit seemed to be poured out with the word, both by the multitude of sincere converts, and also by the common work of reformation upon many who never came the length of a communion; there were no fewer than sixty aged people, men and women, who went to school, that even then they might be able to read the Scriptures with their own eyes. I have lived many years in a parish where I never heard an oath, and you might have ridden many miles before you had heard any: also, you could not for a great part of the country have lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped by reading, singing, and public prayer. Nobody complained more of our church government than our taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was, their trade was broken, people were become so sober.”¹

It is not difficult to ascertain the true value of these statements. Kirkton, at no time probably a very accurate or trustworthy observer, wrote his History when the sufferings of the Presbyterians, continued during many years, had led them to invest the period of their triumph and ascendancy with a brightness which it never really bore. His description cannot be relied on, and is opposed to contemporary records of undoubted authority. No credit is given to it by Dr. Lee, who was never inclined to underrate the influence of Presbyterianism, and at one period of his life regarded the Covenanters with the utmost veneration. “Unless,” he says, “I were to believe that the whole of the records of the church courts that I have examined were fabrications, I must really look upon Kirkton’s description as being something very extravagant—I would almost say a romance.”²

In reference to both the periods which he mentions, the statements of Kirkton are equally worthless. Another contemporary author, a careful observer of what was going on, and whose opinions, so far as they have any definite character at all, were favourable to the cause of the Covenant, thus writes in the year 1651:—“Under heaven there was not greater falsehood, oppression, division, hatred, pride, malice, and envy, than was at this time, and divers and sundry years

¹ Kirkton’s History, pp. 48, 49, 64, 65.

² Lee’s Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. appendix, p. 443. See also appendix to the same volume, pp. 447, 448.

before, ever since the subscribing of the Covenant, every man seeking himself and his own ends, even under a cloak of piety which did cover much knavery.”¹

The dissensions between the two parties, into which the Church was now divided, continued during the commonwealth, and till the restoration of the monarchy. In the summer of 1654, Cromwell summoned Livingstone, Gillespie (now Principal of the College of Glasgow), and Menzies, to London, in order that he might have their advice in regard to ecclesiastical affairs; and a short time afterwards he sent for Blair, Douglas, and Guthrie. The first three went; the others excused themselves. Livingstone returned about Lammas. Gillespie and Menzies followed him within a few weeks, having during their residence at London arranged the terms of an ordinance in regard to the Church, which was soon afterwards issued by the Council of State. By that ordinance, Scotland was divided into a certain number of districts, in each of which several ministers and others were entrusted with the power of admitting ministers to vacant parishes—so far at least as regarded the right to the stipend—and of ejecting those whom they should declare to be scandalous. A tribunal was thus created, as illegal and arbitrary as the court of High Commission. This ordinance was disliked by all the Resolutioners; and also by a considerable number of the Protesters who valued the freedom of the Church more than the ascendancy of their party.²

Blair, who had not joined decidedly either with the Resolutioners or with the Protesters, endeavoured, in 1655, to bring about a union between them. The leading persons on both sides met for that purpose at Edinburgh in the month of November; and among those present were Douglas, Dickson, and Baillie, Rutherford, Guthrie, Gillespie, and Warriston. The attempt was unsuccessful, chiefly in consequence of the opposition of Warriston and Guthrie.³

¹ Nicoll's Diary, pp. 59, 60.

² Life of Robert Blair, p. 313-319. Life of John Livingstone—Select Biographies, edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. i. p. 187. Baillie, vol. iii, pp. 253, 282. Lee's Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. appendix, p. 376.

³ Life of Robert Blair, pp. 325, 326. Baillie, vol. iii. pp. 296, 297.

In the year 1656, the leading Resolutioners sent James Sharp to London, to plead their cause with Cromwell, and to complain of the proceedings of those who assumed to themselves the name of the godly party of the ministry. Soon afterwards, Guthrie, Gillespie, Warriston, and others, also repaired to London on behalf of the Protesters, with instructions to petition Cromwell for the appointment of a commission to be named by him, with the same powers as those formerly possessed by the commission for the plantation of churches, and to make certain other requests. Cromwell, after hearing both parties, was finally induced by the arguments of Sharp to decline complying with the wishes of the Protesters. His success in this negotiation acquired for Sharp a high reputation and influence among the Resolutioners, and he was again sent to London on a similar errand, during the protectorate of Richard Cromwell. The controversy subsequently became even more bitter than before, in so much that a writer of the time speaks of the two parties as looking on each other "rather as of different religions, than of different persuasions about things which were not fundamental." ¹

The schism between the Resolutioners and the Protesters was not the only division among the Presbyterians. Opinions, resembling those of the English Independents, had been secretly propagated for some years, but, after the death of Charles the First, they were openly maintained in various parts of the kingdom. Their supporters, however, do not seem at any time to have been numerous or influential. Among the chief of them were three persons residing in Aberdeen, John Menzies, John Row, grandson of the reformer of that name, and Principal of King's College, and Alexander Jaffray, the parliamentary commissioner at Breda. Row and his friends, when they found that their belief had become different in some important points from that held by the Church, addressed a letter explanatory of their opinions to Dickson, Livingstone, Guthrie, Rutherford, and Warriston. A conference was held at Edinburgh, and afterwards at Aberdeen, in September 1652, in which Rutherford, Gillespie, and Guthrie,

¹ Baillie, vol. iii. pp. 330, 352-355, and appendix, p. 568-573. Life of Robert Blair, pp. 329-334, 336.

took part, but the opinions of the separatists remained unchanged.¹

Before the tenets of Menzies and Row had been fully developed into Independency, the Presbytery of Aberdeen, under their influence and that of Cant, had distinguished itself by its zeal in the cause of the Protesters. One of their proceedings attracted attention, in consequence of an oppressed royalist having sought protection against them from the English rulers. Among the most distinguished of the northern cavaliers was Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, who, for several years, had held the office of sheriff of the county of Aberdeen. He was suspected of Popery, and the presbytery called upon him to subscribe the Covenant. When he refused to do so, they threatened him with ecclesiastical censures; whereupon he appealed to Colonel Overton, the commander of the English troops in the district. He was urged to withdraw his appeal; and intimation was made to him that, if he declined to do so, sentence of excommunication would be pronounced against him.

On the twentieth of January 1652, the knight of Drum wrote a letter to the moderator of the presbytery. He stated that neither in conscience nor in honour could he agree to what they proposed, and explained at length his reasons for the course which he had taken. "I acknowledge," he said, "God is honoured by oaths, yet that must receive some limitation; they must be taken in judgment, in truth, and upon necessity. Now I appeal to your own consciences, whether you have observed these conditions, in your urging so many dreadful oaths upon this miserable nation, these years by-past, not only in the Covenant, but in your Solemn League with your Presbyterian brethren of England; whereby ye enforced all men to swear to establish by arms that tyranny there, as ye had done here. How many have ye enforced by threatening and execution of your kirk censure, and the severity of the civil law falling upon them, depriving men of their estates, to swear and subscribe to all ye enjoined, or could invent, albeit ye knew them to be of far contrary judgment? Wherein ye did imitate that feigned and false mother, who, before Solomon, was contented to have the child divided; by which her hy-

¹ Jaffray's Diary, pp. 65, 66. Life of Robert Blair, p. 300. Selections from the Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen, p. 219-222.

pocrisy was found out by that most wise prince. By which means ye have made this nation guilty of horrible perjury, besides many other heinous sins. I wish to God ye had remembered, or would yet remember, how much ye cried out against the tyranny of bishops, when they were urging some of your number who were refractory to Episcopacy, that there should be had some regard to tender consciences which were of another judgment. But so soon as ye got the power into your hands, neither minister nor laird, man, woman, nor child, was spared, nor any regard had unto them, whatever quality or condition they were of; all were forced not only to obey you, but (which is the greatest point of tyranny over men's consciences) they were made to swear that they thought as you would have them, albeit to your own knowledge many thought the contrary. But there was no regard; you would have it so, to satisfy your ambition and crooked ends. Ye abhorred and detested the title of lords in the bishops, but ye have usurped, without the name, the power of popes, which was so much the more inconsequential in you, that professing and showing yourselves so often fallible, yet ye exacted an infallible obedience. Wherein, if ye have observed Christ's rule, which commands that whatsoever we would that men should do unto us we should do the same to them, ye have reason to look to it; and, if ye had reason to complain of the bishops, I, and many others, have had much more reason to complain of you; for your little finger hath been heavier than all their hands, as woeful experience hath shewed."

Sir Alexander also made a formal protestation against the sentence of the presbytery, as null both in its spiritual and in its temporal character; imitating, as he said, St. Paul, who appealed from the cruelty of the Pharisees to Cæsar, and reminding them that their leaders had lately appealed against the general assembly, whereby, as schismatics, they themselves ought to be censured, and so have no power to censure him. He farther intimated his separation from the discipline of Presbytery, as a human invention, destructive to the civil peace of Christians, and summoned his opponents to appear before Colonel Overton, or any other judge who should be appointed by the English commissioners.

It appears that Sir Alexander Irvine's appeal and protesta-

tion had the desired effect, and that the presbytery was prevented from following out its proceedings.¹

The partial cessation of the ecclesiastical tyranny, which followed the overthrow of the Covenanters by Cromwell, enabled Robert Burnet to return from exile. He fixed his residence at Aberdeen, where we find him, in the year 1652, engaged in literary correspondence with Robert Gordon of Straloch. On the restoration of the monarchy, he was appointed one of the judges of the Court of Session, under the title of Lord Crimond, but he did not long survive his promotion.²

During this period, there were still many in Scotland who regretted the overthrow of the episcopal polity. Even among the ministers, a considerable number were attached to the hierarchy, as a form of government sanctioned by antiquity, and preferable in many respects to Presbyterianism; but an avowal of such opinions would have been dangerous, and, as they did not hold Episcopacy to be absolutely necessary, they thought themselves entitled, in the meantime, to make common cause with the Resolutioners: and there can be no doubt that their influence contributed to widen the breach with the Protesters.

The most zealous of the ancient clergy remained in exile, and of them we hear but little. A few notices, however, have been preserved of Sydserf, the only surviving bishop. It is probable that he continued to reside for the most part in France. Evelyn relates that, on the twelfth of June, 1650, being Trinity Sunday, he was present at the chapel of Sir Richard Browne, King Charles's ambassador at Paris, on which occasion, after a sermon by Dr Cosin (then Dean of Peterborough), Durell and Brevint, afterwards Deans of Windsor and Durham, were ordained by Sydserf. "The Bishop of Galloway," he says, "officiated with great gravity, after a pious and learned exhortation declaring the weight and dignity of their function, especially now in a time of the poor Church of England's affliction. He magnified the sublimity of the calling from the object, viz., the salvation of men's

¹ See Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. iii. p. 205-207, and preface to the same volume, pp. xviii. xix. See also Whitelock's Memorials, ed. 1732, pp. 525, 526.

² Garden's Life of Dr John Forbes, p. 63-67.

souls, and the glory of God ; producing many human instances of the transitoriness and vanity of all other dignities ; that of all the triumphs the Roman conquerors made, none was comparable to that of our blessed Saviour's, when He led captivity captive, and gave gifts to men, namely, that of the Holy Spirit, by which his faithful and painful ministers triumphed over Satan, as oft as they reduced a sinner from the error of his ways. He then proceeded to the ordination. They were presented by the dean in their surplices, before the altar, the bishop sitting in a chair at one side ; and so were made both deacons and priests at the same time, in regard to the necessity of the times, there being so few bishops left in England, and consequently danger of a failure of both functions. Lastly, they proceeded to the Communion." In 1658, Sydserf was perhaps in England, since in that year he superintended the printing at London of Bishop William Forbes's *Considerationes*.¹

The feeble protectorate of Richard Cromwell was of short duration, and the attempts which were made to establish a republican form of government were unsuccessful. On the first of January, 1660, the army under Monk crossed the Tweed, and, in May, King Charles was restored to the throne of Britain.

¹ Evelyn's *Diary and Correspondence*, ed. 1850, vol. i. p. 258. Gordon's *Scots Affairs*, vol. iii. p. 241. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 390. The initials, "T. G.," subscribed to the preface to the *Considerationes*, shew that Sydserf had never abandoned, even in name, his right to the see of Galloway.

CHAPTER LXII.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II. IN MAY, 1660, TO THE
RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPACY IN SEPTEMBER, 1661.

The leaders of the Resolutioners send Sharp to London—Correspondence between that Minister and his Constituents—Sharp returns to Scotland—Guthrie and other Protesters imprisoned—The King's letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh—Meeting of the Parliament—The Act Rescissory—Execution of the Marquis of Argyll—Execution of James Guthrie—Meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr—Its Declaration in favour of Presbyterianism—Meetings of the other provincial Synods—Address by the Synod of Aberdeen in favour of the ancient Ecclesiastical Polity—Re-establishment of Episcopacy.

THE Restoration was, if possible, more joyfully welcomed in Scotland than in England; for it not only brought back the sovereign and the ancient constitution of the kingdom, but also freed the people from the supremacy of a foreign government. The exultation which was sincerely felt by the great majority of the nation was shared, in outward appearance, even by those who had no affection for monarchy, or for the house of Stewart. On one point alone, doubt and anxiety existed. No one could foresee what ecclesiastical changes might attend the unexpected revolution in the state. It soon became obvious that in England the restoration of the Church would accompany that of the monarchy. The national voice went along with the duty and inclination of the king and his advisers, and the hierarchy and the Book of Common Prayer were re-established almost as they were before the commencement of the rebellion. In Ireland, the example of the ruling nation was followed as a matter of course; and the circumstance that there the majority of the people still adhered to the Church of Rome was only an additional reason for restoring the polity and ritual of England. There were circum-

stances in the condition of Scotland which caused greater difficulties.

When Monk, and the army under his command, marched southwards in the beginning of January, it is probable that he had assurances of support from the leaders of the Resolutioners. The ministers by whom that party was directed were aware of the important influence likely to be exerted by the English general, and were anxious to secure his favour. For this purpose, it was of consequence to have one of their own number in personal communication with him, and Sharp, whose former negotiations had been so successful, naturally appeared to be the individual best fitted for such an employment. Dickson, Douglas, and others, met at Edinburgh on the sixth of February, and drew up instructions for the guidance of their envoy. He was directed to use his endeavours that the Church of Scotland should enjoy the freedom and privileges of its judicatories, as ratified by law; to represent, by all prudent and lawful means, the sinfulness and offensiveness of the toleration then established; and to attempt to secure the right application and increase of the ministers' stipends. Sharp arrived at London on the thirteenth of February, and was courteously received by Monk, who promised to use his best efforts for the preservation of the Church's rights.

A series of letters, which passed between the Scottish envoy and his constituents, contains a full account of the ecclesiastical proceedings of the time. In his opening communications, Sharp alluded to the exertions which the English Presbyterians were making for the establishment of the Westminster Confession, but mentioned, at the same time, the reviving hopes of the supporters of the hierarchy, and the fear that, along with the king, a moderate Episcopacy might be restored. On the fifteenth of March, Douglas expressed a wish that the Presbyterian form of government should be settled, since it was ascertained by experience that moderate Episcopacy was only a step to episcopal tyranny. "You know," he says, "the old saying, *perpetua dictatura via ad imperium*. Our constant moderators was a step to bishops, and they once entered soon broke all caveats." He denied that he and his friends were for a commonwealth, as some had asserted; but mentioned that the judgment of honest men in Scotland was for admit-

ting the king only on Covenant terms, whereby religion, the liberties of the nation, and his own just greatness, would be best secured. On the thirty-first of March, the same minister stated that a generation had risen up in Scotland which was unacquainted with the work of reformation, and therefore disposed to condemn even the Covenant itself, to which they bore a heart-hatred. "There are three parties here," he writes, "who have all of them their own fears in this great crisis: the Protesters fear that the king come in; those above mentioned that, if he come in upon Covenant terms, they be disappointed; and those who love religion and the liberty of the nation that, if he come not in upon the terms of the League and Covenant, his coming in will be disadvantageous to religion and the liberty of the three nations." And writing again, on the twenty-sixth of April, on the prospects of Presbyterianism in England, he says, "whatever church government be settled there, it will have an influence on this kingdom; for the generality of this new upstart generation have no love to Presbyterial government, but are wearied of that yoke, feeding themselves with the fancy of Episcopacy, or moderate Episcopacy. Our desire is, that Presbyterial government be settled; if not, we shall be free of any accession to the breach of a sworn Covenant."

Sharp having informed his constituents that Monk wished him to repair to the king at Breda, Douglas wrote on the eighth of May, that however desirable uniformity in doctrine, worship, and government was, if the English Presbyterians did not urge their own cause, their Scottish brethren must be free from blame, and his chief business in that case would be to attend to the interests of his own Church. There was no necessity, he said, for the king's allowing liberty to tender consciences in Scotland, inasmuch as most of the people, and all the ministry, supported the religion established by law. At the same time, further instructions were sent to Sharp, by which his constituents requested him to assure the king of the loyalty of the Scottish Presbyterians, and to inform his majesty that, whatever reasons there might be for establishing Episcopacy or allowing a variety of opinions in England, there was no cause whatever for altering the established government in Scotland, in which the people for the most part acquiesced.

The Scottish envoy arrived at Breda in the beginning of May, and had several confidential interviews with the king, to whom he communicated the letters with which he had been entrusted. He subsequently wrote to Douglas, that he had urged on his majesty the restoration of the civil independence of the Scottish kingdom, and the preservation of its established ecclesiastical government, and that he had received a most gracious answer. He returned to London before the end of the month.

On the second of June, Sharp wrote to Douglas, explaining the hopeless state of Presbyterianism in England; the most influential persons of that persuasion being now content to admit the moderate Episcopacy formerly suggested by Archbishop Usher, and the Liturgy with some alterations, and to substitute the Thirty-nine Articles, with certain amendments, in room of the Westminster Confession. There were many nominal, few real Presbyterians. Some of the Scots went to the Common Prayer. Every thing depended on the king, who could do what he pleased in Church and State. In another letter of the same date, he urged Douglas to come up to London. Douglas wrote in answer, expressing his sorrow for the state of matters in England; mentioning that, whether many or few were for Presbyterianism in that country, they were bound by their oath to God to desire a settlement of religion according to the Covenant; and entreating Sharp to persevere in his exertions, notwithstanding the discouragements to which he was exposed. He added that Dickson and himself had no intention of coming up; but that Bishop Sydserf, and James Atkins, an excommunicated minister of Orkney, had a few days before set out for London, in the expectation that Prelacy would be restored.

On the ninth of June, Sharp expressed a wish that he should be allowed to return, and, in a letter, supposed to be written on the following day, mentioned that some of the Scottish nobles at London were talking of restoring Episcopacy, which, he trusted, they would never be able to effect. He again expressed his desire to be recalled, and his opinion that Douglas could now do no good by coming up. On the fourteenth of June, Sharp wrote that he had just had an interview with the king, who again professed his resolution to

preserve the established ecclesiastical order in Scotland, and declared his intention of calling a general assembly as soon as he could, but that a parliament would probably be first summoned. On the tenth of July, Sharp wrote to Douglas that he was not of the mind of those who thought that they should not preach in favour of Presbyterianism, and against Prelacy, in Scotland; but he was still of opinion that there was neither necessity nor advantage in meddling with the affairs of England, whether civil or ecclesiastical. Dear bought experience, he remarked, should have taught another lesson. He still expressed his conviction that the king meant them no wrong, though he feared his advisers would endeavour to introduce Erastianism.

After some farther correspondence, Sharp returned to Scotland in the end of August.¹

The measures taken for the restoration of the hierarchy in England, and the readiness of the English Presbyterians to submit to a moderate Episcopacy and a remodelled Liturgy, if such could be obtained, were sufficient proof that the account given by Sharp of the state of ecclesiastical matters in the South was substantially correct. The Resolutioners were now convinced that any attempt to maintain the ascendancy of Presbyterianism in other parts of the empire was hopeless, and they would have been well pleased could they have been certain of its security in Scotland. For this they had hitherto only the general verbal assurances of the king; and they anxiously looked for the first steps to be taken by those who were entrusted with the civil government. The position of the Protesting party was much more alarming. They were conscious of their own disloyalty, and of the indignities they had put on their sovereign; and they had good reason to dread the consequences to themselves individually. Their fears were soon realized. In the beginning of July, the Marquis of Argyll was seized at London, and committed to the Tower; and orders were sent to Scotland to apprehend others of the Protesting leaders. Warriston was one of those against whom warrants were issued, but he succeeded in making his escape.

By a proclamation, dated the second of August, the king entrusted the administration of affairs in Scotland, till par-

¹ Wodrow, vol. i. p. 4-54.

liament should meet, to the committee of the estates appointed in 1651. In the meantime, the great officers of state had been nominated. Middleton was created an earl, and selected to act as royal commissioner for the parliament about to be summoned. The Earl of Glencairn was named chancellor, the Earl of Crawford treasurer, and the Earl of Lauderdale secretary. On the twenty-third of August, the committee sat down at Edinburgh. Guthrie and some other members of the Protesting party met in a private house in that city on the same day, and drew up a paper, under the name of a supplication to the king, in which, after professing their loyalty, they represented the great danger which threatened the work of reformation in his majesty's dominions from the remnant of the Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant party, which was again contriving the introduction of Prelacy, the Ceremonies, the Service-book, and all those corruptions which had formerly been cast out; and entreated his majesty that he would employ his royal power for the preservation of the Church of Scotland, the reformation of religion in England and Ireland, and the carrying on of the work of uniformity in the three kingdoms, in one Confession of Faith, form of church government, Directory for worship, and catechising, and to the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; reminding him of his solemn promise and oath before coming to Scotland, and at his coronation there, to maintain the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, and the Presbyterian doctrine, worship, and government. The committee of estates, having learned the object of the meeting, and fearing probably that it was the commencement of proceedings similar to those which had taken place at Edinburgh in the beginning of the troubles, ordered those who were present to disperse, and, on this warning being disregarded, caused Guthrie and others to be seized, and imprisoned in the castle. Soon afterwards, various ministers and lay adherents of the Protesting party, among whom was Gillespie, were also apprehended.

When Sharp returned from London, he brought with him a letter from the king, addressed to Douglas, and intended to be communicated to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. In this letter, which was dated the tenth of August, the king expressed

his satisfaction with the conduct of the greater number of the ministers. He declared his resolution to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as settled by law, and that the acts of the general assembly of 1651 should remain in force till another was called; and mentioned his expectation that the church judicatories would keep within their own proper sphere, meddling only with matters ecclesiastical. The presbytery was highly pleased with the royal message; thanked the king for his goodness; and caused copies of the letter to be sent to all the other presbyteries of the kingdom. Relying on these assurances, the Resolutioners proceeded to take measures against some of the more violent of their opponents; and a considerable number of Protesting ministers were deposed in various districts.¹

The Scottish parliament commenced its sittings on the first of January, 1661. The Earl of Middleton was commissioner, and the number of members who attended was very great. From the first, it was evident that the royal authority, so long despised and trampled on, was to be acknowledged in terms more distinct and comprehensive than at any former time. It was ordered that all members of parliament, and persons holding offices of state, should take the oath of allegiance, by which they acknowledged his majesty to be the only supreme governor of the kingdom over all persons, and in all causes, and promised never to decline his jurisdiction. The royal prerogative in choosing the officers of state, the lords of council, and the session, was admitted; the more violent proceedings during the rebellion were condemned; and the Solemn League and Covenant was declared to be no longer binding. On the twenty-eighth of March, the parliaments held in the years 1640, 1641, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, and 1648, and their whole acts and deeds, were rescinded and annulled. On the same day, a statute was passed, by which the king declared his firm resolution to maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion, in its purity of doctrine and worship, as it was estab-

¹ Wodrow, vol. i. p. 62-83. Lamont's Diary, p. 158. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 446. Life of Robert Blair, p. 357. Kirkton, p. 75. The writer last quoted, referring to the effects of the king's letter on the Resolutioners, says that, "had not the course of synods been interrupted by the introduction of bishops, few had kept their places who were afterwards ejected by that infamous proclamation at Glasgow in the year 1662."

lished under his royal father and grandfather ; and, in regard to church government, that he would take care to settle and secure the same, in such a manner as should be most agreeable to the word of God, most suitable to monarchy, and most in accordance with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom, and, in the meantime, notwithstanding the act rescissory just passed, that he would allow the present administration by sessions, presbyteries, and synods.

Besides the public acts, various proceedings occurred regarding individuals, equally indicative of the change that had taken place. The attainders of the Marquises of Huntly and Montrose, of Sir Robert Spottiswood, Sir John Gordon, and others who had suffered for their loyalty, were rescinded. An act was passed empowering the king to bestow the revenues of such benefices as were vacant on the deprived clergy and their relatives : and, among those who received grants from this source, were Dr. Wishart, Dr. Panter, David Mitchell, William Annand, and Henry Guthrie ; the widows and children of Dr. Baron, Dr. Sibbald, and Dr. Ross ; the children of Dr. Hannah, Dean of Edinburgh ; and the sons of Bishop Maxwell and Bishop Whitford. The parliament rose on the twelfth of July.¹

During the sittings of the estates, several important events had taken place. In the month of February, the Marquis of Argyll, who had been sent back to Scotland, was brought to trial before the parliament on a charge of high treason. Among the points specified in the indictment were various acts done by him at different periods during the rebellion—his taking of the king's castles, and burning the houses of the loyal nobles ; his calling the convention of 1643 ; his massacre of royalist prisoners in Kintyre ; his bargaining to deliver up the late king at Newcastle, and his encouragement or knowledge of the design to put him to death ; his opposition to the engagement ; his participation in the proceedings against Montrose ; his intrigues and correspondence with Cromwell ; his consent to the Act of the West Kirk ; and his supporting the armies of the usurpers against the king's forces in the Highlands. The marquis, while he admitted his open main-

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 3-367, and appendix, pp. 59, 78, 79, 81.

tenance of the Covenant, and palliated the particular charges connected with it, denied all knowledge of the proposal to bring the late king to trial, and all correspondence with Cromwell, except what was ordered by the estates. He offered, however, to throw himself on the king's mercy; but the terms of his submission did not satisfy the parliament, and the trial proceeded. He was found guilty, and condemned to die. Argyll was naturally of a timorous disposition, and had incurred reproach, on more than one occasion, by carefully providing for his own safety in times of danger; but, after his sentence, he exhibited no sign of fear. Immediately before his death, he solemnly denied all connection with the murder of the late king. He was beheaded on the twenty-seventh of May.¹

James Guthrie was also put on trial before the parliament on a charge of high treason. The chief articles in his indictment were his participation in the Western Remonstrance; his publishing a seditious pamphlet, called "The Causes of God's Wrath;" his convocating the lieges at various times without warrant; his declining the king's jurisdiction; and his writing and subscribing the petition to his majesty in August of the previous year. Guthrie attempted to extenuate his direct concern in some of the matters charged against him, but boldly maintained the lawfulness of the acts themselves; declaring that whatever he had said or done proceeded from a principle of conscience and his sense of duty as a minister of the Gospel, and was founded on the word of God, on the laws of the Church and kingdom, and on the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant. He was found guilty, and was hanged on the first of June. An obscure individual of the name of Govan was executed at the same time. He had been a lieutenant in the western army under Strachan, and was also accused of having been on the scaffold when the late king was beheaded; but there was no proof of that charge.

Warriston and some other persons were likewise accused of treason. The charges against Warriston related to his connection with the Western Remonstrance, his correspondence with Cromwell, his holding office under the usurpers, and

¹ Wodrow, vol. i. p. 130-158. State Trials, vol. v. p. 1370-1507. Mackenzie's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 34-47.

various other points. He was found guilty by the parliament, attainted, and condemned to death. Execution of the sentence was prevented in the meantime by his flight from Scotland. The Laird of Swinton was accused of like offences, and of having been openly in arms at Worcester against the king. He had lately turned Quaker; and at his trial he confessed his guilt. The parliament recommended him to the consideration of the king, and the capital punishment was remitted. Patrick Gillespie was charged with offences similar to those set forth in Guthrie's indictment. He also confessed his guilt, and submitted himself to the king's mercy. His life was spared, but he was not allowed to hold any ecclesiastical office in time to come. Rutherford also was summoned before the parliament. He had already been deprived of the office of Principal of St. Mary's College, and an order had been given that his book, "*Lex Rex*," should be burned at St. Andrews. His death in the month of March prevented any further measures that might have been contemplated against him.¹

No other capital punishments were inflicted. The royalists had been cruelly persecuted by the Covenanters, and the retaliation, at this time, was probably less severe than was expected. Considering, however, the rank and number of those who had shared in the guilt of the rebellion, and the circumstance that the worst crimes had been committed under the sanction of the actual government of the day, it would have been more just and more prudent to have made no distinctions, and to have granted a general indemnity.

The various measures brought before the parliament had been anxiously watched by the leaders of the Resolutioners and the Protesters. Several of the earlier acts alarmed the ministers of Edinburgh, and they endeavoured in vain to obtain a ratification of the statutes establishing Presbyterianism. As soon as the Act Rescissory was passed, a formal remonstrance was presented to parliament by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, but the commissioner refused to receive it. When the various synods met as usual in April and May, the terms of the Act

¹ Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 159-196, 204-206, 216, 217. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vii. appendix, pp. 34-60, 69, 70, 74, 75, 80-84. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 447. Lamont's Diary, p. 159. Life of Robert Blair, p. 366.

Rescissory, and of the act announcing the king's intentions regarding church government, were generally known, and clearly indicated that important changes were contemplated.

The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr met at Glasgow on the second of April. It was proposed to supplicate parliament for protection to the Church; and the draft of an address was read, but was opposed by the Resolutioners, and by those favourable to Episcopacy, on the ground that such a proceeding at that time was imprudent and premature. The following declaration was then brought forward:—"Whereas there is a scandal as if some ministers in this Church had made, or were intending to make defection from the government of the Church of Scotland to prelatical Episcopacy, therefore the whole synod, and every member thereof, do willingly declare that they are fixed in the doctrine, discipline, worship, and church government by sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies, as it is now professed and practised within this Church; and that they are resolved, by the grace of God, so to remain. And because divers of the members are absent, therefore the synod recommends it to the several presbyteries to require the same of them." The omission of any allusion to the Covenants, and the expression, "prelatical Episcopacy," which seemed to imply that there was some sort of Episcopacy not so objectionable, displeased the Protesters; but those on the other side refused to make any alteration, and the resolution was agreed to unanimously. The synod then adjourned to the second Tuesday of May. When that day came, and the members were about to assemble, their meeting was forbidden by the royal commissioner, on the ground that such an adjourned synod was not warranted by law. The order was obeyed, but several of the members sent a respectful supplication to the commissioner, in which they represented that, while they submitted to the prohibition, they could not allow that provincial assemblies had no power to meet oftener than twice a year.

It does not appear whether Baillie was present at the meeting of the synod, but, on the eighteenth of April, he wrote to his old friend and fellow commissioner at Westminster, the Earl of Lauderdale, as to the course now adopted by the government. He had taken a leading part in opposition to the

Protesters, and had lately, through the influence of Lauderdale, been appointed Principal of the College of Glasgow, in room of Gillespie, but the recent statutes and other public measures had excited his alarm. In his letter he condemned the Act Rescissory, describing it as a bringing back of the Canterburian times; and in severe, but manly and affectionate language, warned the secretary against abandoning the principles which he had formerly professed. "If you," he concluded, "or Mr. Sharp, whom we trusted as our own souls, have swerved towards Chancellor Hyde's principles, as we now see many do, you have much to answer for."

The Synod of Fife met at St. Andrews in the beginning of April. They drew up a supplication to the commissioner and parliament, in which, referring to the Act Rescissory and the king's letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, they petitioned that a new parliamentary ratification should be granted in favour of the Reformed religion then professed, in doctrine, worship, government, and discipline. They also prepared a warning and admonition to the people under their charge, in which, while setting forth their loyalty to the king, they declared their conviction that the prelacy of any one, with majority of power and jurisdiction over presbyteries and churches, had no warrant in the Scriptures, and therefore ought to be rejected by those who were bound to follow the rule, not of human, but of divine wisdom, in the government of the Church. They added that, while they would not expect trouble from their gracious sovereign on account of their conscientious opinions, yet, if such should happen, they would with quietness commit themselves and their cause to Him that judgeth righteously, resolving to endure, through God's strength, whatever trial they might be exercised with.

It would have been well if the ministers of Fife, while maintaining their own conscientious convictions, had never used language different from that which they now adopted. Sixteen years before, they had petitioned the parliament which met at St. Andrews to do justice on Malignants; and the blood of Spottiswood and other loyal and innocent persons had been shed at their demand. Now that they addressed the estates in language such as befitted Christian ministers, their supplication was not even allowed to be presented. Before the

papers drawn up were finally sanctioned, the Earl of Rothes, President of the Council, son of the nobleman who had been the chief instigator of the National Covenant, entered the place of meeting, and, commanding silence in the king's name, ordered them immediately to depart. The members at once submitted, without so much as a protest.

The Synod of Dumfries met, and had agreed to an act for the deposition of all ministers who should comply with Prelacy, when they were dissolved in like manner by the Earls of Queensberry and Hartfell.

The Synod of Galloway, most of whom belonged to the Protesting party, drew up a long and pedantic supplication to parliament, in which, after reviewing the course of ecclesiastical corruption in Scotland from the arrival of the first bishop, Palladius, to their own time, and most violently denouncing Episcopacy and its adherents, they requested that the laws against Prelacy should be ratified, and that the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant should be renewed, and ordered to be sworn to and subscribed by all persons of whatever rank in the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging. They were dissolved in the king's name by the Earl of Galloway. The members departed, but not till the moderator had formally protested against the encroachment thus made on their privileges.

The Synod of Lothian was under the direct control of the government, and many of its members were favourable to Episcopacy. It was proposed to take steps against the Protesters; and several ministers of that party were suspended, notwithstanding the opposition of Douglas and Dickson, the leaders of the Resolutioners. The Earl of Callender, on the part of the government, required an act to be made for restoring the former practice of reading the Scriptures, and using the Lord's Prayer and Gloria Patri in public worship, and the Creed in Baptism. On this being refused or evaded, the earl dissolved the synod.

In the Synod of Ross, the moderator, Murdoch Mackenzie, and the majority of the members, were very zealous in censuring the Protesters. This circumstance is mentioned by Wodrow, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the account of

what took place at the southern synods. He has preserved no farther details of the proceedings in the North, but mentions generally that the synods there dealt harshly with the few who adhered to the Protenting party. It may be inferred from this statement, as well as from his silence otherwise, that beyond the 'Tay no remonstrances whatever were made against the threatened ecclesiastical changes. In the northern districts the Covenant had never been popular, and the greater number both of the ministers and of the people were ready, at the bidding of the civil power, to submit to Episcopacy.¹

In one—the most influential of all the northern synods—a still stronger feeling prevailed. The Synod of Aberdeen met in St. Mary's Chapel, in the King's College. Alexander Ross, minister at Monymusk, was moderator, and fifty-three other ministers were present. On the eighteenth of April, an address to the commissioner and the high court of parliament was unanimously agreed to by the members, in which they expressed their deep sorrow and regret for the national guilt, and their own sin, in so far as they were accessory, in the rebellious opposition to the late king, and after his death to the reigning sovereign, and that according to the several degrees of their accession to it, whether driven thereto by the force and violence of a prevailing faction, or through sinful silence, and want of courage to oppose such courses. And inasmuch as it had pleased his majesty and the parliament to rescind the laws by which the Presbyterian form of government had been established, they humbly requested the commissioner and estates to join with them in petitioning his majesty to settle the ecclesiastical government, according to the word of God and the practice of the ancient primitive Church, in such a way as might be most consistent with the royal authority, and most conducive to godliness, unity, peace, and order.

This address would probably not have been agreed to, if the Act Rescissory had not been passed ; it used indeed almost

¹ Wodrow, vol. i. p. 109-130. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 458-460. Lamont's Diary, pp. 167, 168. Nicoll's Diary, p. 333. Preface to Selections from the Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen, pp. lii. liii. Wodrow is silent as to the liturgical changes proposed at the Synod of Lothian, and merely states that it was dissolved because the majority resisted some overture made by the government commissioner in favour of Prelacy.

the very language of the statute by which the king declared his intentions regarding ecclesiastical government. But there can be no doubt that it expressed the real sentiments of the majority of the numerous body by which it was drawn up. Most of the ministers of the diocese of Aberdeen had been educated by the deprived doctors, and had submitted to a system which they believed not to be positively unlawful, but for which they entertained no affection. Preferring Episcopacy, and strongly disliking the rebellious courses which had so long prevailed, they welcomed the restoration of the monarchy, not only for its own sake, but as the means of re-establishing the ancient ecclesiastical polity. In the Presbytery of Aberdeen these opinions had hitherto been kept down chiefly through the influence of Cant, but that preacher had never been able to obtain an ascendancy in the synod. He had lately been obliged to leave Aberdeen, an object of universal contempt and dislike; and the general feeling among the ministers in favour of the old system was now so strong, as to carry along with it even those who were favourable to Presbyterianism.¹

In consequence of the Act Rescissory, the Presbyterian form of church government was abolished; and the king was empowered by the statute which followed it to settle the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland. When the parliament rose, the commissioner and other noblemen repaired to London, and a discussion took place in the Scottish council there on this important question. Middleton stated that, as the acts establishing Presbyterianism were annulled, the episcopal polity was restored in law, unless his majesty, by virtue of his royal authority, should appoint otherwise. He maintained the propriety of re-establishing Episcopacy, and his arguments were enforced by Glencairn and Rothes. On the other hand, Lauderdale and Crawford, and the Earl of

¹ Wodrow (vol. i, p. 215) makes an incidental allusion to the "flattering address in favour of Episcopacy" from the Synod of Aberdeen; and Burnet, who was present at the meeting, gives a brief account of it (*History of his Own Time*, vol. i. pp. 205, 206). The address, without the signatures, is printed in *Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 429-432. A complete copy, with the names of the ministers by whom it was signed, is preserved among the papers belonging to the Friendly Society of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

Selkirk, who, in his wife's right, now bore the title of Duke of Hamilton, contended that Presbyterianism was preferred by the Scottish nation; that the Act Rescissory had passed with little opposition, because the people relied on his majesty's promise to maintain the established polity; and that, at all events, a general assembly should be summoned, or the opinion of the provincial synods taken on the point. The king adopted the opinion expressed by most of the counsellors, and announced his intention of restoring Episcopacy.¹

Although, previous to this meeting, no formal resolution had been come to, the statutes that were enacted, and the proceedings of the government, indicated the change which might be expected. It is probable that the king had already resolved on the course to be adopted, but there are no means of ascertaining at what precise time his resolution was taken. The question was a very difficult one, and it is evident that Charles was long in doubt, and that his counsellors were divided in their opinions. Clarendon, Ormonde, and the supporters of the hierarchy in England, urged the re-establishment of Episcopacy, as the only apostolical form of ecclesiastical government, and as necessary for the maintenance of monarchy; Lauderdale and Crawford opposed it strenuously, both on political grounds, and on account of their own strong feelings in favour of Presbyterianism. On the one hand, it was important that all the three kingdoms should be united in their ecclesiastical, as well as in their civil polity; and, in order to this, it was as essential to maintain episcopal government in Scotland, as it was to uphold the Reformed religion in Ireland. On the other hand, it was believed that the majority of the Scottish people were opposed to any change; and the principles of government by which Ireland was ruled did not apply to an independent kingdom, possessing its own distinct laws and legislature. Had the ministers of the existing establishment in Scotland been united in opinion, it is probable that the king and his English counsellors must have acquiesced in its preservation, but the differences between the Resolutioners and the Protesters were fatal to Presbyterianism. The leaders of both these parties had at first urged the king to maintain uniformity by enforcing the Covenant in all his

¹ Mackenzie, p. 52-56. Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 224, 229. Burnet, vol. i. p. 224.

dominions. When the restoration of Episcopacy in England and Ireland was determined on, the chiefs of the Resolutioners would have been content with the establishment of Presbyterianism in their own country; but the Protesters would not abate a jot of their claims, and neither party would have consented to a toleration within Scotland of any religious opinions or ecclesiastical polity differing from their own. There could be no liberty of conscience to the adherents of Episcopacy except by the re-establishment of the hierarchy.

Glencairn and Rothes returned from London, bearing a royal letter, dated the fourteenth of August, which was laid before the privy council in Scotland on the fifth of September. In this letter, the king referred to his communication of the tenth of August, 1660, to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, which mentioned his purpose to maintain the government of the Church as settled by law, and to the subsequent act of parliament by which the statutes establishing Presbyterianism were rescinded, and the settling of church government left to himself. He then declared that, on account of the unsuitableness of the late form of ecclesiastical polity to the monarchical estate, and of the violence done during the troubles to the royal prerogative, and the government civil and ecclesiastical established by authority, and for the glory of God, the interest of the Protestant religion, the order, peace, and unity of the Church, and its better harmony with the ecclesiastical government in England and Ireland, it was his resolution to restore the Church to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles began, and as it now stood settled by law.

Two of the counsellors, the Earls of Tweeddale and Kincardine, suggested that his majesty should be requested to consult the provincial assemblies; but this was objected to by the others, and a letter was returned from the council, expressing their readiness to comply, and their satisfaction with the communication. The royal injunctions were proclaimed by a solemnity at the market cross of Edinburgh by the Lion King-at-Arms.¹

Charles has been severely censured for his conduct in

¹ Mackenzie, . 56-60. Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 230, 231. Nicoll's Diary, p. 342.

connection with the abolition of Presbyterianism in Scotland. In some respects the censure is just ; in others it is undeserved. When he subscribed the Covenant and confirmed it by oath, he bound himself to establish in England and Ireland a system of faith and worship which was contrary to the laws of those kingdoms, and disliked by the great majority of the people. The promise which he then made was also given under circumstances of constraint, and to observe it would have been a greater sin than to break it. The obligation, however, simply to maintain the Presbyterian discipline in Scotland, so far as it can be viewed apart from the Covenant, was of a different character. The king, soon after his father's death, had offered of his own accord to make a promise to that effect, and, in doing so, he merely agreed to preserve a system already recognized by existing laws, and which was in conformity with the wishes of the people. No doubt, according to Henderson's reasoning at Newcastle, Charles was entitled to disregard his promise, because the parliament had freed him from its observance ; but, if his father's interpretation of such obligations was the correct one, it was only the general assembly, as representing those in whose favour he made the promise, that could so release him.

But, besides these former promises, the king had given repeated verbal assurances of his favour to the Presbyterian establishment, and, in his letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, had mentioned his intention to protect and preserve the Church as it was settled by law. The Protesters indeed gave no faith to this promise, but the Resolutioners viewed it as a pledge of the royal favour ; and such undoubtedly was its obvious meaning. When the king made the assurances, and wrote the letter referred to, there is no evidence that it had been determined to restore Episcopacy. Charles himself probably contemplated the preservation of the existing system, and the Earl of Lauderdale, who, as secretary of state, subscribed the letter, was at that time a zealous advocate for Presbyterianism. So far, there is little reason to find fault with the king's conduct ; but the manner in which the re-establishment of episcopal government was announced admits of no defence. To justify the changes by an express reference to the letter of August, 1660, and to pretend

that the repeal of the various statutes in favour of Presbyterianism, which was effected by the influence of the crown, made Episcopacy the form of church government, settled by law, which he was now bound in terms of that letter to maintain, was a fraud and a delusion. This proceeding shook all confidence in the king's sincerity, and excited a strong dislike to the episcopal polity, at the very time when it was most important to conciliate the national feeling in its favour.

CHAPTER LXIII.

FROM THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPACY IN SEPTEMBER, 1661, TO
THE MEETINGS OF THE DIOCESAN SYNODS IN OCTOBER, 1662.

Bishop Sydserf—His Ordinations in England—He is translated to the see of Orkney—James Sharp is appointed to the see of St. Andrews—Charge of treachery brought against him by the Presbyterians—Examination of that charge—Andrew Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow—Account of Robert Leighton—He is named to the see of Dunblane—His hesitation, and final acceptance of the episcopal office—Consecration of four Scottish Bishops at Westminster Abbey—George Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh—David Mitchell, Bishop of Aberdeen—Consecration of the other Scottish Bishops—Meeting of Parliament—The diocesan synod of St. Andrews—The diocesan synod of Edinburgh—The diocesan synod of Dunblane—The diocesan synod of Aberdeen.

THE re-establishment of Episcopacy having been declared, the king and his council had next to select fit persons to occupy the vacant sees ; and, as the cathedral chapters no longer existed, this required to be done by a direct act of the royal prerogative. The only surviving prelate was Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway ; and it might have been expected that he would be raised to the primacy, and that the other sees would be conferred, for the most part, on the clergy who had all along remained faithful to Episcopacy. This course is said to have been recommended by Sheldon and the English bishops, but it was not adopted. It was feared that the old clergy, if restored to power, would be too unbending in their ecclesiastical principles, and it was therefore resolved to fill most of the sees with ministers of the late establishment. It is probable that the latter course was strongly recommended by the Scottish counsellors. These statesmen, who had all conformed to Presbyterianism, and some of whom had taken an active part in persecuting the adherents of Episcopacy, naturally preferred

as ecclesiastical rulers those whose opinions were not unlike their own. But, whatever the precise reasons may have been for the course which was adopted, the result did not answer the expectations of its authors.

Sydsersf, instead of being raised to the primacy, was translated to the see of Orkney, one of the best endowed of the bishoprics, and more easily governed than his turbulent diocese of Galloway. It is said that he had incurred the dislike of the bishops in England, soon after the Restoration, by conferring orders within that kingdom in an irregular manner, and without requiring oaths or subscriptions.¹

The primatial dignity was reserved for a person of different principles. James Sharp, minister at Crail, in the discharge of the various important commissions entrusted to him, had shewn ability of a very high description. He was the son of William Sharp, sheriff-clerk of the county of Banff, and was born at Banff in the year 1618. He received his education at King's College, Aberdeen, while that university was flourishing under the teaching of the doctors, and afterwards resided in England. Returning to his own country subsequently to the expulsion of the bishops, he conformed to the Presbyterian establishment, and, before he became a parochial minister, was for some time a regent in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews. On the rise of the two parties of Resolutioners and Protesters, he attached himself to the former, and, at the period of the Restoration, was looked up to as one of the ablest and most trustworthy of their leaders.

Sharp's negotiations in England and on the Continent, and his return as bearer of the royal letter to the Presbytery of

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 225-227. Pepys' Diary, 3d ed. vol. i. p. 242. Among those whom Sydsersf ordained was John Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; see Birch's Life of Tillotson, 2d ed. pp. 18, 387. Matthias Symson, canon of Lincoln, in his "Present State of Scotland," gives a somewhat different account of Sydsersf's proceedings in England. He says (ed. 1738, p. 243), "Dr. Sydsersf, the surviving Scots bishop, being desired and allowed by the English bishops, ordained according to the Scots form several hundreds of the English Nonconformists, who had some scruples and objections against the English Ordinal. One of these was the famous Dr. Manton, who had been made no more than a deacon by Bishop Hall of Exeter, yet officiated as a parish minister many years both at Newington and Covent-garden; but, being sensible of his error, he applied to the Bishop of Galloway for the order of a presbyter, from whose hand he received it."

Edinburgh, have already been related. He was appointed to preach before the parliament on several occasions, particularly on the twenty-third of April, the anniversary of the king's coronation. He had been named one of the royal chaplains, and was created doctor of divinity by the University of St. Andrews, which thus once more resumed its ancient privilege of conferring degrees in theology. In the end of April, he accompanied the Earls of Glencairn and Rothes to London, and returned with these noblemen when they brought back the king's mandate for the re-establishment of Episcopacy. On the fourteenth of November, a writ passed the great seal, by which Dr. Sharp was nominated to the primatial and metropolitan see of St. Andrews, with its whole rights, privileges, and immunities, as possessed by his immediate predecessor, Archbishop Spottiswood. Some time before this, he had received the royal command to repair to London.¹

The promotion of Sharp to the see of St. Andrews exposed his conduct to severe animadversion. As time went on, the violence with which he was assailed by a portion of the Presbyterians increased rather than diminished; and the accusations against him gradually assumed the definite shape of a charge that he had betrayed the trust reposed in him by those who sent him to London in 1660, and that the primacy was the reward for which he had sacrificed his own convictions, and the interests of his constituents. In an enquiry regarding the justice of such a charge, it is important to keep in mind what were the ecclesiastical opinions of Sharp himself, and of those for whom he acted. His own opinions are to be gathered more from the part which he took in the controversies of the time, than from any formal enunciation of them. Brought up from childhood in one of the northern counties, and educated at the University of Aberdeen, it is not likely that in his youth he was predisposed to Puritanism. When the National Covenant was adopted he was absent from Scotland, and, though on his return he conformed to the new establishment, there is no reason to suppose that he ever distinguished himself by his zeal against Episcopacy. When he first as-

¹ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 41, 42. Lawson, pp. 677, 678. Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. ii. p. 381-388. Life of Robert Blair, p. 373. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 193.

sumed a prominent position, it was as one of the Resolutioners, and he soon became a leading person among them, and a formidable opponent of the extreme Puritanical or Protesting faction.

It was avowedly for the maintenance of the ecclesiastical principles held by the Resolutioners that Sharp was sent as envoy to Monk, as he previously had been to Cromwell. Dickson, Douglas, and the other ministers by whom he was immediately commissioned, were, like himself, opposed to the Protesters, but they were also vehement enemies and persecutors of Episcopacy. They had joined in the worst excesses of the Covenanting party during the reign of Charles the First, and had shewn no disapprobation even of the execution of Huntly and Montrose. They had only drawn back when there was no choice between agreeing with the parliament and submitting to Cromwell and the Independents. Almost from the commencement of the correspondence between Sharp and Douglas, it is obvious that there was a difference of opinion between them. Douglas was anxious that the Protesters should be compelled to submit to the majority of the Presbyterian party, represented by the assemblies of 1650 and 1651. He was also desirous that Presbyterianism should not only be maintained in Scotland, but that, in terms of the Solemn League and Covenant, it should be forced on England and Ireland; and slowly and with reluctance he finally admitted the necessity of confining their efforts to its preservation in their own country. Sharp, more acute and unprejudiced, soon discovered the hopelessness of endeavouring to re-establish the supremacy of the Covenant, and evidently felt no reluctance in giving up the attempt. He was satisfied with a moderate Presbyterianism in Scotland, and had no wish to impose the ecclesiastical system of his country on other parts of the king's dominions, unless they were prepared to receive it. His sentiments in this respect were shared by most of the party to which he belonged, of whose opinions he was a more faithful representative than were the Edinburgh ministers who acted as its leaders. That party, as early as the year 1647, had shewn its real principles and objects, when it attempted, under the guidance of Fairfoul and Colville, to obtain a majority in the general assembly, and nearly suc-

ceeded in preventing the election of Douglas himself as moderator. Such being the position of Sharp, it is needless to say how unjust it would be to view him as the agent of the whole Presbyterian body.

The letters which passed between Sharp and Douglas, and the other correspondence of the time, would afford an easy means of detecting the treachery of the Scottish envoy, had he really been faithless to his constituents. There is no evidence, however, of treachery. In his views of passing events, and in his mode of dealing with the difficulties of his employment, he differed frequently from those by whom he was immediately commissioned, but he did so openly, and with a full explanation of the reasons. The documents referred to shew that he endeavoured, to the best of his ability, to obtain the royal protection for the Presbyterian system. Had he in deference to the wishes of Douglas stood obstinately by the principles of the Covenant, he would not have had the slightest prospect of success, and Episcopacy would probably have been introduced a twelvemonth sooner than it was. To the efforts made by Sharp, and the strenuous support he received from Lauderdale, may be ascribed the promises of support which were given to the Presbyterians. If the attempt failed, it was not owing to any faithlessness or negligence on the part of the envoy.¹

Had Sharp not been raised to the episcopate, he would never have been charged with betraying his constituents. It was that promotion which excited the wrath of his old enemies the Protesters, and of a portion of his own party, and which at the same time supplied a reasonable ground for believing that the accusation against him was well founded. The documents which have hitherto been published do not enable us to ascertain at what time he so far changed his sentiments, as to concur in the subversion of the ecclesiastical system which he had formerly defended, and even to accept

¹ The only direct evidence of treachery on the part of Sharp is what is mentioned by Burnet; but that writer gives no authority for his statements, except a story told by Sir Archibald Primrose, Clerk Register, a person with whom, he himself says, "words went for nothing." It was the same person who was his authority for the proposal of the Scottish nobles to massacre the supporters of the sovereign, at the time of the alleged revocation of church grants by King Charles the First. Compare Burnet, vol. i. pp. 35, 156, 157, 179, 186, 187.

the highest office in the polity which was set up in its place. It is probable that the change was a gradual one, and that, when he saw the cause of Presbyterianism to be utterly hopeless, he resolved to conform to the prevailing opinions.

It is not difficult to ascertain the general principles by which Sharp was actuated, or to arrive at a fair estimate of his motives and character. So long as he was entrusted with a commission for a specific purpose, he discharged his task with faithfulness and ability. When he found that Presbyterianism could no longer be maintained, he was not unwilling to separate himself from a falling cause; and the offer of the primacy was a temptation not easy to be resisted by one of his energetic, aspiring disposition. He was not a hypocritical and dishonest traitor, but neither can he be viewed as a conscientious convert to the truth of the system which he adopted. Had he merely submitted in silence to a change which he could not prevent, his conduct might readily be excused; but a person of strict rectitude, or even of high worldly honour, would never, under such circumstances, have accepted the office to which he allowed himself to be appointed.

Andrew Fairfoul, now minister at Dunse, was selected for the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow. He also was summoned to London, and, along with him, James Hamilton, minister at Cambusnethan, and brother of Lord Belhaven, who had been nominated to the see of Galloway, vacant by the translation of Bishop Sydserf.¹

Robert Leighton, who was appointed to the see of Dunblane, had been resident in England during the autumn. He was the son of Alexander Leighton, well known as the author of one of the most virulent Puritanical libels against the English Church, and for the cruel punishment which he received on account of it. Robert Leighton was born in the year 1611. The place of his birth has not been clearly ascertained, but it was either Edinburgh or London, more probably the former city. He received his education at the College of Edinburgh, and afterwards resided on the Continent for several years, mingling freely with the members of the Roman Catholic Church, and comparing their opinions and forms of worship with those of his countrymen. When

¹ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 265, 281.

about thirty years of age he returned to Scotland, and, receiving Presbyterian ordination in December, 1641, was appointed minister of the parish of Newbottle in Mid Lothian. He devoted himself to the duties of his pastoral office, and avoided, as far as possible, the political discussions and ecclesiastical controversies which formed the chief occupation of so many among his brethren. He had subscribed the Covenant, but he disliked the manner in which it was imposed on all classes, and soon discovered the evil fruits of the persecuting and uncharitable temper of its supporters. His conduct displeased many of the ministers, although, as Burnet mentions, "all the opposition he made to them was that he preached up a more exact rule of life than seemed to them consistent with human nature." "And yet," adds that historian, "his own practice did even outshine his doctrine." It was at this time that he is said to have been blamed for not preaching to the times. "Who," he asked, "does preach to the times?" He was told that all the brethren did so. "Then," he answered, "if all of you preach to the times, you may surely allow one poor brother to preach Christ Jesus and eternity." His style of preaching, no less than the subjects of his sermons, was different from what was then usual in Scotland. Baillie, referring to Andrew Gray, one of the ministers of Glasgow, says, "He has the new guise of preaching, which Mr. Hugh Binning and Mr. Robert Leighton began, condemning the ordinary way of expounding and dividing a text, of raising doctrines and uses; but runs out in a discourse on some common head, in a high, romancing, unscriptural style, tickling the ear for the present, and moving the affections in some, but leaving little or nothing to the memory and understanding."

Though avoiding the discussions in the church courts, Leighton did not shrink from his political duties when it became necessary to take a decided part. The indignities to which Charles the First was subjected, and the patience with which he bore them, must have made an impression on all whose consciences were not bewildered, and whose hearts were not hardened, by the evil principles of the time. When the Scottish nobles entered into the engagement for the defence of their sovereign, Leighton was one of the ministers who approved of their conduct. On the overthrow of Hamilton's

party, he ran great risk of ecclesiastical censures, but was protected by the powerful influence of the Earl of Lothian. He entered into a correspondence with Robert Burnet and others who were favourable to Episcopacy, and became so much dissatisfied with the violent proceedings of the Presbyterians, that he determined to resign his parochial charge. This resolution he carried into effect in the beginning of the year 1653. Soon afterwards, however, he accepted the appointment of Principal of the College of Edinburgh, and discharged the duties of that office with the greatest reputation for learning and piety. During the college vacations, he frequently visited London, and sometimes went across to Flanders, where he became acquainted with several of the Jansenist divines.

He had a younger brother named Elisha, who had become a Roman Catholic, had been knighted, and held the office of secretary to the Duke of York. Burnet mentions that it was through the influence of Sir Elisha, who hoped thus to increase his own consideration, that a bishopric was offered to Leighton. He was reluctant at first to consent to the promotion, and agreed to do so only on the king's peremptory order to accept it unless he believed, in his conscience, that the episcopal office was unlawful. He preferred the diocese of Dunblane, both because it was of small extent, and because it had the deanery of the chapel royal annexed to it, whereby he would have an opportunity of encouraging the use of the Book of Common Prayer, the beauty and advantages of which he fully appreciated. He anticipated the objections which some would make to the step he had taken, but he had weighed the whole matter, and was prepared to abide by his deliberate conviction. He was cheered also by the hope that his acceptance of the episcopal dignity would be a means of uniting well-disposed persons who held different opinions as to church government. To his friend, James Aird, who appears to have doubted the expediency of his accepting the episcopate, he thus wrote before giving his final consent:—"What will you say if there be in this thing somewhat of that you mention and would allow of reconciling the devout on different sides, and of enlarging those good souls you meet with from their little fetters, though possibly with little success? Yet the design is commendable, pardonable at least. However, one comfort

I have, that in what is pressed on me there is the least of my own choice, yea, on the contrary, the strongest aversion that ever I had to any thing in all my life ; the difficulty, in short, lies in a necessity of either owning a scruple which I have not, or the rudest disobedience to authority that may be. The truth is, I am yet importuning and struggling for a liberation, and look upward for it ; but, whatsoever be the issue, I look beyond it, and this weary, weary, wretched life, through which the Hand I have resigned to, I trust, will lead me in the path of his own choosing ; and, so I may please Him, I am satisfied.”¹

The prelates nominate being now assembled at London, arrangements were made for their consecration. This solemn rite was conducted with more formality and attention to canonical order than it had been in 1610. The place selected was Westminster Abbey, and the day was the fifteenth of December, the third Sunday in Advent. As on the former occasion, it was resolved that neither of the English archbishops should take any part. A discussion arose, similar to what had occurred fifty years before, regarding the orders of two of the prelates ; but the result was different. Fairfoul and Hamilton had been ordained by the Scottish bishops of the old succession, and as to them there was no question. Sharp and Leighton, however, had received only Presbyterian ordination, and it was proposed by the English bishops that, before being consecrated, they should be ordained deacons and priests. Leighton at once acquiesced. His opinions on the subject of ordination were very lax. While preferring Episcopacy as a form of government, and believing it to be sanctioned by the practice of the apostolic age, he thought that a person ordained in one Church might lawfully accept a second ordination in another, merely in compliance with its rules, although the first was perfectly valid. Sharp was unwilling to admit the invalidity of his orders, and appealed in defence of his scruples to what had taken place at the consecration of 1610. Sheldon,

¹ Pearson's *Life of Leighton*, prefixed to his *Works*, ed. 1830, pp. xi-xxvii, xxxvii-xliii. Burnet, vol. i. p. 228-235. Baillie, vol. iii. pp. 258, 259. See also *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, of the reign of Charles I., 1628-29, pp. 102, 103, 486, 554. Andrew Gray and Hugh Binning, referred to in the extract from Baillie, were young ministers of the Protestant party, of great promise, who died before the Restoration.

however, and the other English bishops, held higher views regarding Episcopacy than most of their predecessors in the time of Bancroft. They also maintained that, whatever might have been allowable then, when Scotland received canonical bishops for the first time since the Reformation, it was very different now, when it had wilfully rejected Episcopacy, and when no plea of necessity for irregular orders could be adduced. Sharp reluctantly submitted, and he and Leighton were privately ordained deacons and priests. This preliminary point having been settled, the four Scottish prelates were consecrated by the Bishops of London, Worcester, Carlisle, and Landaff.¹

Burnet relates that, after the consecration, Leighton endeavoured to prevail on Sharp to go along with him in two plans which he had much at heart—one for inducing the Presbyterians to submit to Episcopacy, the other for persuading the Scottish people to embrace a liturgical form of worship. The primate, he says, appeared unwilling to enter into these proposals, suggesting that every bishop should first do what he could in his own diocese to obtain submission to his authority, and afterwards that more general measures might be adopted. The historian censures the conduct of Sharp, but the caution which he shewed was, at this time, probably wise and prudent.²

After remaining in England for some months, the newly onseparated prelates returned to their own country. Leighton, who disliked the ceremonial of a public reception, left his brethren at Morpeth, and arrived in Scotland before them. The others came to Berwick in the beginning of April. Many noblemen, gentlemen, and burgesses, left the capital to meet them—some going to Musselburgh, some to Haddington, and others as far as Cockburnspath—and accompanied them to Edinburgh, where they were received with every demonstration of welcome.

One of the first duties of the prelates was to confer consecration on the persons nominated to the other sees. The most important of these bishoprics was Edinburgh, and it is said that Sharp was authorised to offer it to Douglas, but that he could not persuade him to accept. The primate may

¹ Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iv. pp. 573, 574. Burnet, vol. i. pp. 237, 238.

² Burnet, vol. i. p. 239.

naturally have wished to have among his colleagues the most influential of the Resolutioners, and one with whom he had been on such terms of intimacy. The refusal of Douglas was honourable to his character, and it was well for the Church and for himself that he adopted that course. He was among the most able and respectable of the Presbyterian ministers, but he had taken a prominent part in all the proceedings against Episcopacy. Had he accepted a bishopric, he would at once have lost his influence, and would have exposed himself to censures far more severe than justly could be bestowed on Sharp.

The see of Edinburgh found a worthier occupant in Dr. Wishart. This clergyman was descended from a respectable family in Angus, and, as already mentioned, had been deprived of his parochial charge at St. Andrews, for his adherence to Episcopacy, and had been severely persecuted by the Covenanters. When Montrose left Scotland, Wishart accompanied him, and occupied his leisure in the composition of the Latin History which contributed so much to extend the fame of the marquis. He was for some time chaplain to Elizabeth of Bohemia; and, when that princess visited England in 1660, he returned with her. He was restored to the office which he had formerly occupied, that of lecturer of St. Nicholas' church, in Newcastle-on-Tyne, an appointment which he held at the time of his nomination to the see of Edinburgh.

A brief notice will be sufficient in regard to most of the other appointments. George Haliburton, minister at Perth, was named to Dunkeld; Murdoch Mackenzie, minister at Elgin, to Murray; Patrick Forbes, son of John Forbes minister at Alford, and nephew of Bishop Patrick Forbes, to Caithness; John Paterson, minister at Aberdeen, to Ross; and David Strachan, minister at Fettercairn, to Brechin. They all belonged to the party of the Resolutioners, and Mackenzie had sat as a member of the Glasgow assembly of 1638. David Fletcher was named to the see of Argyll. He had been one of the clergy of Edinburgh during the establishment of Episcopacy, and had been deprived of his office; but he was restored to ministerial functions in 1639, on his submitting to the Covenanters. At the time of his nomination he was minister at Melrose. Robert Wallace, who was appointed to

the see of the Isles, was minister at Barnwell in Ayrshire, and was an active person among the Resolutioners of the West. All these were persons of respectable character, but not one among them was remarkable for learning or ability.

One other appointment remains to be noticed. Aberdeen was the only diocese in which the clergy and people, at the commencement of the rebellion, had shewn a strong attachment to Episcopacy; and it had recently distinguished itself by the unanimous declaration of its synod in favour of the ancient polity. It was probably felt that these circumstances called for the nomination as bishop of some one who had shewn himself a consistent supporter of the hierarchy. The clergyman selected was David Mitchell, formerly minister at Edinburgh, and recently created a doctor of divinity at Oxford, and appointed a prebendary of Westminster. A better choice could not have been made. Dr. Mitchell was the son of a farmer at Garvock, in the Mearns. His piety, learning, and spotless reputation, had been unable to preserve him from the severest censures of the Covenanters at the Glasgow assembly. He was a zealous disciple of the theological school of Laud, and the personal friend of Bishop William Forbes and Bishop Maxwell; and these were offences which could not be forgiven. He was obliged to flee from his own country, and it is said that he held for some time a benefice in England; but he was finally obliged to take refuge on the Continent. Like others of the banished clergy, he was reduced to great poverty, and in Holland had to maintain himself by his skill as a watchmaker.¹

On Wednesday the seventh of May, the bishops nominate of Dunkeld, Murray, Ross, Caithness, Brechin, and the Isles, were consecrated in the abbey church of Holyrood. The consecrating prelates were the two archbishops, and the Bishop of Galloway, and the form used was that in the English Ordinal. The archbishops and the Bishop of Galloway wore their episcopal habits; the sermon was preached by James Gordon,

¹ Burnet, vol. i. pp. 242, 243. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 485. Nicoll's Diary, pp. 363, 364. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii. pp. 403, 404. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 62, 133. Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 236, 237, 255. Peterkin's Records of the Kirk, p. 261. Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 168. Wood's Fasti Oxonienses, part ii. pp. 251, 257.

minister at Drumblade in the diocese of Aberdeen ; and the royal commissioner, many of the nobility and gentry, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, were present. It is probable that most, if not all, of the newly consecrated prelates had formerly received episcopal ordination ; but, if any of them had merely Presbyterian orders, there is no evidence that they were re-ordained.

The Bishops nominate of Edinburgh and Aberdeen had been detained for some time in England. They were consecrated at St. Andrews, on Sunday the first of June, by the primate, and the Bishops of Dunkeld and Murray. The Bishop of Argyll was soon afterwards consecrated at Glasgow, by his metropolitan, Archbishop Fairfoul : it is not mentioned who assisted at the consecration.¹

In the meantime, the civil government proceeded with the steps necessary for the full establishment of Episcopacy. On the twelfth of December, the privy council forbade presentations to benefices to be addressed to presbyteries, and enjoined the presbyteries not to admit ministers on any presentation so directed. On the second of January, a royal letter was laid before the council, by which the king, referring to his former temporary sanction of the existing ecclesiastical courts till church government should be properly settled, now withdrew the sanction so given, and declared that the jurisdiction in the several synods, presbyteries, and sessions, should be by the appointment and authority of the archbishops and bishops according to law ; and forbade all meetings of those courts till they should be authorised by the prelates on entering to the government of their several sees. Most of the presbyteries submitted to these injunctions ; and the supplications of a few, particularly in Galloway, who petitioned against them, were disregarded.²

The parliament met at Edinburgh on the eighth of May, the Earl of Middleton continuing to hold the office of royal

¹ Baillie, vol. iii. p. 486. Nicoll's Diary, pp. 365, 366. Life of Robert Blair, pp. 406, 407, 410, 415. Lamont's Diary, pp. 184, 185. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 255. There is some discrepancy as to the precise times when the various bishops were consecrated, but Row, in his continuation of the Life of Blair, gives a distinct and correct account. Burnet expressly states (vol. i. p. 242) that the six bishops consecrated at Edinburgh were not ordained priests and deacons.

² Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 234, 235, 248-253.

commissioner. The first act which was passed, ratified the late appointment of bishops, and declared that it was fit that the ancient constitution of the estates should be restored, and the clergy have their place and vote as formerly. A deputation was then named, consisting of peers, barons, and burgesses, to wait on the archbishops and bishops, who were assembled at the primate's lodgings, and invite them, in the king's name, to take their former place in parliament. The two archbishops, and the Bishops of Galloway, Dunkeld, Murray, Ross, Brechin, Caithness, and the Isles, were accordingly introduced, and took the oaths as lords of parliament. In the course of the session all the bishops took their seats.

On the twenty-seventh of May, an act was passed for the restitution of the ancient government of the Church by archbishops and bishops. The preamble set forth, that the ordering of the external polity of the Church belonged to his majesty, as an inherent right of the crown, and by virtue of his royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical; that the ancient and sacred order of bishops had been cast off during the late rebellion; and that, in consequence thereof, the rights of the crown, the authority of parliament, and the liberties of the subjects, had been greatly injured. The act then proceeded to declare that all the former rights of the episcopate, civil and ecclesiastical, with all former statutes in favour of the same, should be restored and re-established; and that whatever his majesty, with the advice of the archbishops and bishops, and of such of the clergy as he might nominate, should determine regarding the external government of the Church, the same being consistent with law, should be valid and effectual.

By another statute, passed on the eleventh of June, all ministers admitted to benefices since the year 1649, when the rights of patrons were unjustly taken away, were declared to have no right to the same, and their churches were made *ipso jure* vacant; but it was enacted that every such minister, who should, before the twentieth day of September following, obtain a presentation from the lawful patron, and collation from the bishop of the diocese, should possess his benefice as fully and freely as if he had been lawfully presented at his entry; and patrons were enjoined to grant presentations to the existing incumbents who should apply for the same.

By another act, all persons holding offices of public trust were ordered to subscribe a declaration, by which the entering into leagues and covenants, and taking up arms against the king, were condemned, and the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, were denounced as unlawful.

A statute was passed during this session of parliament, to provide a chapter for the diocese of Argyll, which, since the Reformation, had been without any capitular constitution. The minister of Kilmaluage in Lismore was to be the Dean, and the minister of Lochgoilhead Archdeacon; the other members being a Treasurer, Chancellor, Precentor, and three prebendaries, all holding certain parochial benefices within the diocese. By another act, the dignity of Archdeacon, in the chapter of the Isles, which had been omitted in the new constitution of 1617, was restored, and certain benefices in Skye were attached to the office.

The estates were adjourned on the ninth of September.¹

On the tenth of September, 1662, the lords of council gave notice that the diocesan synods of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dunkeld, Brechin, and Dunblane, would be held on the second Tuesday of October following, and those of Galloway, Aberdeen, Murray, Ross, Caithness, the Isles, Argyll, and Orkney, on the third Tuesday of the same month; and they commanded all parsons, vicars, and other ministers, to repair to their several synods at the time appointed. The diocesan synods met accordingly, and the notices of their proceedings which remain shew that the chief subjects of discussion must have been arranged beforehand. In the North they were well attended, but it was otherwise in the southern and western dioceses. Out of about two hundred and forty ministers in the diocese of Glasgow, it is said that only thirty-two were present, and that in the dioceses of Galloway and Argyll none attended, except the deans.

At the meeting of the diocesan synod of St. Andrews, most of the ministers from Angus, Mearns, and Perthshire, were present, but a large number of those from Fife declined to attend. The primate enjoined his clergy to substitute reading of the Scriptures for lecturing; to repeat the Doxology and

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vii. pp. 367, 374, 376, 390, 403, 405, 406. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 255-279.

the Lord's Prayer in public worship ; and to use the Apostles' Creed at Baptism. He also named constant moderators for the several presbyteries in his diocese.

The synod of Edinburgh met on the fourteenth of October, and was attended by fifty-eight ministers. Out of respect to its first meeting, the king's advocate, one of the lords of council, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, were present as spectators. The bishop preached, taking his text from the fifth verse of the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians, "Let your moderation be known unto all men ; the Lord is at hand." Two from each presbytery were appointed as a committee to arrange the business, under the name of "the brethren of the conference." It was agreed that there should be daily prayer, morning and evening, in the churches of all burghs, and other places where a considerable number of people could be collected ; that the Lord's Prayer should be repeated once at least during divine service ; that the Doxology should again be introduced ; and that the Creed should be said at Baptism. The synod was appointed to meet again after Easter in the following year.

Bishop Leighton, anticipating the time ordered by the council, met his clergy at Dunblane on the fifteenth of September. After a sermon by the bishop, and prayers, the names of the clergy were called over. Only a few were absent, most of whom sent an excuse. The synod unanimously agreed to certain proposals made by the bishop, which were arranged under two heads, Discipline and Worship, and were to the following effect:—

"For Discipline.

"First, That all diligence be used for repressing of profaneness, and the advancement of solid piety and holiness ; and therefore,

"Secondly, That not only scandals of unchastity, but drunkenness, swearing and cursing, filthy speaking, and mocking of religion, and all other gross offences, be brought under church censure.

"Thirdly, That scandalous offenders be not absolved till there appear in them probable signs of true repentance.

"Fourthly, That enquiry be made by the minister, not only into the knowledge, but the practice and tract of life of

those that are to be admitted to the Holy Communion, and all profane and evidently impenitent persons be secluded, till their better conversation and obedience to the Gospel be more apparent.

“Fifthly, That family prayer be enquired after; and that they that can, be exhorted to join with it the reading of the Scriptures.

“For Worship.

“First, That instead of lecturing and preaching both at one meeting, larger portions of the Holy Scriptures, one whole chapter at least of each Testament, and Psalms withal, be constantly read; and this, not as a byework while they are convening, but after the people are well convened, and the worship solemnly begun, with confession of sins and prayer, either by the minister, or some fit person by him appointed.

“Secondly, That the Lord’s Prayer be restored to more frequent use, and likewise the Doxology and the Creed.

“Thirdly, That daily public prayer in churches, morning and evening, with reading the Scriptures, be used where it can be had conveniently, and the people exhorted to frequent them, not so as to think that this should excuse them from daily private prayer in their families, and in secret, but rather as a help to enable them and dispose them the more for both these. And let the constant use of secret prayer be recommended to all persons, as the great instrument of sanctifying the soul, and of entertaining and increasing the love of God.

“Fourthly, That the younger sorts and the ignorant be diligently catechized at fit times all the year through, and so this not wholly laid over on some days or weeks before the celebration of the Communion, but that the trial at that time be rather of their good conversation, and due disposition for partaking that holy ordinance, as was said before, in an article touching Discipline.

“Fifthly, That ministers use some short form of Catechizing, such as they may require account of, till some common form be agreed on.

“Sixthly, That preaching be plain and useful for all capacities, not entangled with useless questions and disputes, nor continued to wearisome length; the great and most necessary principles of religion most frequently treated upon, and often-

times larger portions of Scripture explained, and suitable instructions and exhortations thence deduced; and that the sermon at that time be doubtless as truly preaching and useful, if not more, than insisting for one whole sermon or more upon one short verse or sentence."

In an address to the synod, the bishop said, that both he and they ought to recollect what an eminent degree of piety both of heart and life their holy calling required. He exhorted them to contempt of the world, and to have their affections inflamed towards heaven, the whole springing from a deep persuasion within them of those things which they preached to others, from daily meditation upon them, and fervent prayer. He exhorted them to be meek and gentle, lovers of peace, public and private, and to endeavour rather to quench than increase the useless debates and contentions which abounded in the world; and to be always more studious of pacific than polemic divinity, the former of which was much the more divine, the students in it being called the sons of God.

Bishop Mitchell held his diocesan synod on the twenty-first of October. In the morning, he preached in his cathedral church, and the clergy afterwards met in the chapel of King's College. Only nine ministers were absent, some of whom were excused on account of sickness and old age. As at Edinburgh, assessors were appointed for a privy conference in regard to the subjects of discussion.

It was enacted by the bishop, with consent of the synod, that there should be readers of the Scriptures in each congregation, who, after a set form of prayer, especially the Lord's Prayer, were to read portions of the Psalter and Old Testament; after which to repeat the Creed; then to read a portion of the New Testament; and to conclude by rehearsing the Ten Commandments. It was also ordered that Morning and Evening Prayers should be said, especially at Old and New Aberdeen, Banff, Old Deer, Peterhead, Fraserburgh, Kintore, Inverury, Kincardine O'Neil, Turriff, Cullen, Ellon, Tarves, Fordyce, Monymusk, and Banchory Ternan; and that the Liturgy in the old Psalm Book should be used.

It was farther enjoined that Private Baptism and Private Communion should not be denied by any minister, when they

should be earnestly desired. The Directory sanctioned by the late pretended general assemblies was forbidden to be used in time coming.

Every minister was ordered to choose a certain number of the best qualified persons in the parish to assist him in the inspection and oversight of the people. The brethren of the several exercises were not to pronounce any sentence of excommunication, or grant licences to preach, or suspend or depose ministers, except with the warrant and authority of the bishop.

Every minister was enjoined to subscribe a promise of canonical obedience in the following form :—" I, A. B. do profess and promise, that I will render to my Ordinary, David, by the mercy of God, Lord Bishop of Aberdeen, and his successors, due canonical obedience, and to them to whom the government and charge is committed over me, following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions." In their public prayers ministers were to pray for the king, as supreme governor, under Christ, over all persons, and in all causes, civil and ecclesiastical, and also for the archbishops and bishops of the Church, and their ordinary by name. It was recommended that the people should pray either standing or kneeling, these being the most reverent postures in prayer; and that they should stand while the Doxology was sung.

At the meeting of the twenty-fourth of October, it was reported that the promise of canonical obedience had been subscribed by all the members of synod, except a few in the exercise of Aberdeen, who asked and were allowed some time to consider; and, with the exception also of John Menzies, professor of divinity in the Marischal College, and George Meldrum, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, who declined to request such indulgence, and were suspended in consequence.

Both Menzies and Meldrum afterwards conformed to the established order.¹

The decease of several of the Covenanting leaders took place in the year 1662. The Earl of Loudon, formerly Chan-

¹ Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 280, 281. Nicoll's Diary, pp. 380, 381. Lamont's Diary, pp. 196, 197. Life of Robert Blair, p. 425-427. Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal, vol. iii. p. 103. Leighton's Works, vol. iv. p. 395-398. Selections from the Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen, p. 262-269, and preface, p. lxi.

cellor of Scotland, died on the fifteenth of March. With the exception of Rothes and Henderson, no one had been more active in promoting the National Covenant; and, notwithstanding his political changes, and the irregularity of his private life, he retained to the last a high reputation among the Puritans. Robert Baillie died at Glasgow in the end of August. He had been treated as courteously by Archbishop Fairfoul, as he had been twenty-five years before by Archbishop Lindsay, and he enjoyed the favour of Glencairn and Lauderdale. But he felt keenly the overthrow of a system, for which he had renounced the opinions of his early days, and which it had been the work of his manhood to build up; and the ecclesiastical changes which were taking place seem to have hastened his end. David Dickson, who had been ejected from his office of professor of divinity in the College of Edinburgh, died in the month of December. Andrew Cant and Robert Blair did not long survive. The former died on the thirtieth of April, 1663; the latter, who had been compelled to give up his charge at St. Andrews, on the twenty-seventh of August, 1666.¹

¹ Wodrow, vol. i. p. 288. Burnet, vol. i. p. 75. Life of Baillie, prefixed to Mr. Laing's edition of his Letters, p. lxxxiii. Wodrow's Life of Dickson—Select Biographies, edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. pp. 12, 13. Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. ii. p. 165, note. Life of Robert Blair, p. 495.

CHAPTER LXIV.

FROM THE MEETINGS OF THE DIOCESAN SYNODS IN OCTOBER, 1662, TO THE APPOINTMENT OF BISHOP SCOUGAL TO THE SEE OF ABERDEEN IN JANUARY, 1664.

Act of the Privy Council at Glasgow—Resignation of Protestant ministers in the South—Act of the Privy Council at Edinburgh—Deprivation of Nonconformist ministers—Banishment of John Livingstone—Deprivation of Robert Douglas, and other ministers of Edinburgh—Death of Bishop Mitchell—Execution of Johnstone of Warriston—Act regarding deprived ministers—Death of Bishop Sydserf—Alexander Burnet appointed to the see of Glasgow—Patrick Scougal appointed to the see of Aberdeen—Government, Doctrines, and Ritual of the restored Church.

THE act of parliament of the eleventh of June declared that all ministers, admitted since the year 1649, should be deprived of their benefices, unless before the twentieth of September they obtained presentation from the patrons of their several churches, and collation from their bishops. Another statute, passed on the same day, had renewed an act of the previous session of parliament for the observance of the twenty-ninth of May, the anniversary of the king's restoration, as a holy-day, and ordained that all ministers who refused to keep it should lose their benefices.

About the end of September, the Earl of Middleton, and others of the council, repaired to the West, in order, by their presence, to secure a more ready obedience to the laws. On their arrival at Glasgow, the archbishop informed them that, though the day appointed by the statute was past, few ministers in his diocese had applied for collation; and he is said to have urged them to carry out the provisions for enforcing conformity. The council met at Glasgow on the first of October, and passed an act, by which all ministers, who had not applied for presentation in terms of the statute, were forbidden to exercise any part of their functions in their several churches

in time to come, and were ordered to remove themselves and their families from their parishes before the first of November, and not to reside within the bounds of their several presbyteries. And it was also ordained that those ministers, who had contravened the act regarding the anniversary of the king's restoration, should be liable to the penalties therein contained. A considerable number of the Protesters, anticipating some such enactment, had arranged their course of proceeding. They had agreed to continue in their benefices, notwithstanding the lapse of the period mentioned in the statute, but to give up officiating at once, on the appearance of any proclamation for enforcing the law. They were determined not to acknowledge the authority of the bishops by receiving collation at their hands; and they hoped that the resignation of so large a body at one time would embarrass the government, and render it impossible to fill the vacant cures. Accordingly, on the publication of the act of council, these ministers at once ceased to officiate.

The privy council were alarmed by the consequences of their own proceedings. They had hoped that the proclamation would lead to offers of submission from the refractory ministers, and did not believe that any considerable number would give up their benefices. The primate also disapproved of what had been done; and, by another act of council, dated at Edinburgh, on the twenty-third of December, the ministers were allowed to apply for presentation and collation up to the first of February ensuing. The indulgence thus given induced several of those who had ceased officiating to take the benefit of the act, and resume their duties; but, when the first of February came, many ministers in the dioceses of Glasgow, Galloway, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Argyll, and a few in other parts of the kingdom, resigned their benefices, rather than submit to the conditions imposed. In the course of the year 1663, others were deposed for refusing to attend the meetings of the diocesan synods. Among the ministers, who thus resigned or were ejected, were a few of the most distinguished Resolutioners, and nearly the whole of the Protesting party. They gave up every earthly possession, and exposed themselves to the risk of further punishment, rather than sacrifice their conscientious convictions, and

yield obedience to a form of church government which they believed to be unlawful in itself, and imposed by an unlawful authority.

Many of the deprived ministers had won the attachment of their congregations by the zeal with which they discharged their pastoral duties, and by the familiar manner in which they associated with persons of all ranks. Their successors were generally young men from the northern dioceses, whose ecclesiastical principles were entirely opposed to those of the Protesters. Even if they had been in every respect unexceptionable in point of character, they would have found it a difficult task to conciliate the affections of the people. But the numerous vacancies could hardly have been supplied at once, without the promotion of some who were unworthy, or ill qualified; and the faults of individuals were attributed to the whole body. With an utter disregard for truth, the curates, as the new incumbents were called by the western peasantry, have been represented as almost without exception vicious in their conduct, and contemptible in their manners and attainments.¹

¹ Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 281-286, 324-336. Burnet, vol. i. p. 259-269. Kirkton, pp. 149-152, 160-163. Life of Robert Blair, pp. 423, 424, 432. Mackenzie, pp. 77, 78. There is much exaggeration in the accounts generally given of the numbers of those who lost their benefices in consequence of the Act of Glasgow. Kirkton says that out of the nine hundred ministers in Scotland, three hundred were turned out; Wodrow, evidently relying on Kirkton, that nearly a third part of the ministers of the Church were cast out of their charges. Sir George Mackenzie, who mentions that the Act was blamed by all wise and good men, reduces the number to two hundred; and Burnet agrees with this, adding that one hundred and fifty more were to be ejected for not attending the diocesan synods. In the want of precise and trustworthy information, there are some means of testing the numbers given. The Act of Glasgow, though it referred also to the observance of the twenty-ninth of May, was mainly directed against ministers who had entered on their benefices subsequently to the abolition of patronage in 1649. The resignations which took place in consequence would seem to have been limited to the dioceses of Glasgow, Galloway, and, perhaps, Argyll. There is no evidence that any resigned their benefices at this time in the dioceses beyond the Forth. In the diocesan synod of Edinburgh it had been agreed to give indulgence till the twenty-fifth of November; and, before that day came, it was known that a farther delay was to be granted by the council. The whole number of ministers in Scotland was, as Kirkton states with sufficient accuracy, about nine hundred; and of these there were about three hundred in the dioceses of Glasgow, Galloway, and Argyll. About fifty ministers in those dioceses conformed to the new establishment; and, although the Protesting

The indulgence given by the privy council in December did not stop the course of proceedings in the case of persons against whom judicial steps had already been taken, nor did it apply to those who were exposed to punishment on other grounds. Few of the Protesting ministers were more popular than Livingstone. He was not liable to ejection under the statute regarding patronage, as he had received a presentation to his benefice in 1648 from the patron, the Earl of Lothian. He had not indeed observed the twenty-ninth of May, but this would probably have been overlooked, if he had not attracted the attention of the government by collecting a large assemblage at the celebration of his communion at Ancrum on the twelfth of October, and by attacking the new ecclesiastical system in a sermon preached on the following day. He anticipated what was to happen, and was prepared to abide the consequences. On the eleventh of December, he appeared before the privy council, at Edinburgh, to answer to a charge of not having observed the festival of the Restoration, and of

ministers were generally young men, there must have been considerably more than fifty nonconformists admitted before the year 1649. As late as March, 1663, "the ministers of Galloway" had not obeyed the act of council; even in the autumn of 1664 there were nonconformist ministers in the diocese of Glasgow who had not been deposed. (See *Life of Robert Blair*, pp. 434, 473.) It is thus almost certain that the number of those who resigned in the end of the year 1662 fell considerably short even of two hundred. In regard to the total number of ministers ejected on the re-establishment of Episcopacy—whether in consequence of resignations following on the Act of Glasgow in October, of the Act of Edinburgh in December, for not attending the diocesan synods, or in any other way—Burnet's statement of three hundred and fifty is perhaps correct. Wodrow makes them upwards of four hundred, and gives a list of names in the several dioceses; but, in order to make up that number, he includes those who were confined to the bounds of their own parishes without being deprived, and several who, like Rutherford and Gillespie, died, or were deprived, before Episcopacy was restored. It is evident that the Resolutioners formed only a small proportion of the ejected ministers. According to Burnet (vol. i. p. 222), Sharp had assured the king that there would not be found twenty of that party who would oppose the restoration of Episcopacy; and this number was probably not very far from the truth. The editor of the *Life of Blair* mentions (p. 362) that, in 1651, the ministers adhering to the Public Resolutions amounted to about six hundred, and that all of them, with the exception of about forty, conformed to Prelacy after the Restoration. In reference to the character of the "curates," Burnet's severe remarks in his *History*, vol. i. pp. 268, 269, should be compared with the different language of his earlier work, "*A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland*," ed. 1724, pp. 148, 149.

not having attended the diocesan synod. He admitted that he had not kept the twenty-ninth of May as a holy-day, and alleged, in defence, that such anniversaries could not lawfully be enjoined by any human authority. When he was reminded that he had formerly kept a thanksgiving day for the battle of Marston-moor, he attempted to draw a distinction between the two observances, on the ground that the one was temporary, the other perpetual. On the oath of allegiance being tendered to him, he refused to take it, because it recognised the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown; but he was ready to acknowledge the king as supreme civil governor over all persons and in all causes. Having been asked whether he would take some time to consider the matter, he declined to avail himself of the offer, saying that he had no doubt as to the unlawfulness of the oath. He was ordered to leave Edinburgh within forty-eight hours, and within two months to depart from the king's dominions. He retired to Holland, and fixed his residence at Rotterdam, where he died on the ninth of August, 1672.¹

During the last session of parliament, George Hutchieson and two other ministers of Edinburgh had been deprived for refusing to concur with their bishop in acts of ecclesiastical discipline. After the election of the magistrates at Michaelmas, Douglas and the remaining ministers of the city, with the exception of Robert Laurie, were forbidden to officiate. Laurie was nominated Dean of Edinburgh, and ministers were appointed to the vacant churches. One of those so appointed was John Paterson, minister at Ellon, son of the Bishop of Ross. Another was William Annand, son of the minister of the same name who had been deposed by the Glasgow assembly of 1638, and had afterwards fled to England. The younger Annand was educated at the University of Oxford, and was ordained, in 1656, by Dr. Fulwar, Bishop of Ardfert. At the Restoration, he was appointed to a benefice in the county of Bedford, and, in the year 1662, came to Scotland as chaplain to the Earl of Middleton. About the same time, William Colville, who had been deposed by the general as-

¹ Life of John Livingstone—Select Biographies, edited for the Wodrow Society, vol. i. p. 189-197. See also the same volume, p. 201-221.

sembly in 1648, was appointed Principal of the College of Edinburgh.¹

In the beginning of the year 1663, the newly restored Church lost one of the best of her prelates. Dr. Mitchell, Bishop of Aberdeen, died in February, and was buried beside Bishop Patrick Forbes in the southern transept of his cathedral. In the reign of Charles the First, Bishop Mitchell had been a zealous supporter of the Scottish Liturgy, not merely because it was an improvement on the defective forms of worship then used, but as necessary also to restore and preserve the ancient faith regarding the sacraments. During his brief episcopate, he did what he could for the same end. The acts of his diocesan synod have already been related. They indicate ecclesiastical principles far in advance of those held by most of his brethren ; while, at the same time, they were promulgated with the consent of his clergy, and carried out with prudence and moderation.²

Bishop Mitchell was succeeded by Dr. Alexander Burnet, a clergyman who had been ordained in England during the troubles, and had held a benefice in that country. Having been deprived by the rebel government, he went beyond seas, and, subsequently to the Restoration, officiated to an English congregation at Dunkirk, where his kinsman, the Earl of Teviot, was governor. On the eighteenth of September, he was consecrated at St. Andrews by the primate, assisted by others of the bishops.³

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 391. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 299. Nicoll's Diary, pp. 380, 383, 389, 390. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 258. Life of Robert Blair, p. 431.

² Nicoll's Diary, p. 390. Lamont's Diary, p. 200. Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 168. The ecclesiastical principles of Dr. Mitchell, at the time the National Covenant was imposed, may be discovered from his letter to Bishop Leslie of Raphoe, dated in March, 1638, and to which reference was formerly made ; see Baillie, vol. i. appendix, pp. 463, 464. The author of a View of the Diocese of Aberdeen, printed in the Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, mentions that Dr. Mitchell published Archbishop Spottiswood's Church History, and according to some had a hand in composing it. It is not unlikely that, during his exile in Holland, he was "the reverend person of that [the Scottish] nation" who supplied materials for the Life of Spottiswood, ascribed to Bishop Duppa ; and that the manuscript of the History was in his hands when the Dutch magistrates of Schiedam attempted to get possession of it. See Bishop Russell's edition of Spottiswood's History, pp. xiii. xiv. cxli.

³ Life of Robert Blair, p. 452. Lamont's Diary, p. 210. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 42, 43.

The parliament assembled again on the eighteenth of June, 1663, but Middleton no longer held the office of royal commissioner, which had been conferred on the Earl of Rothes. His chief rival at court, the Earl of Lauderdale, had succeeded in obtaining his dismissal, notwithstanding the support given to him by Lord Clarendon and the English bishops. The disgrace of Middleton, and the ascendancy of Lauderdale, were welcomed by the Presbyterians, but were ill received by the old cavalier party. The former nobleman, from the time that he attached himself to the royal cause, had devoted his whole energies to the re-establishment of the monarchy. If he sometimes acted with violence and imprudence, he was neither deceitful nor cruel. His personal conduct was stained by those excesses which the recoil from Puritanism had made unhappily so prevalent; but the absurd legends of Kirkton, repeated, and even exaggerated, by Wodrow, have been too readily believed by subsequent writers. The change, which thus took place in the Scottish administration, was favourable neither to the interests of the Church, nor to the good government of the kingdom.

During the session of 1663, an act was passed, by which all persons, who ordinarily and wilfully absented themselves from divine service on Sunday at their own parish churches, were subjected to heavy fines according to their rank. The only other important statute regarding ecclesiastical matters was one fixing the constitution of a National Synod, to which particular reference will immediately be made.¹

While the parliament was sitting, Johnstone of Warriston, who had been apprehended in France, was brought back to Scotland. He was examined before the council, and afterwards in presence of the estates. Either through fear, or through bodily infirmity, he was reduced to a state of such abject despondency, that, though formerly one of the readiest speakers of his time, he could hardly utter a word in his own defence, and appeared to be almost deprived of reason. He fell on his face, and with tears entreated them to pity a poor creature who had forgotten all that was in the Bible, ascribing his loss of memory to the act of an ignorant surgeon who had taken too much blood from him. He was condemned in terms

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vii. pp. 455, 456.

of his former attainder, and ordered to be hanged at the market cross of Edinburgh, on the twenty-second of July. Before his execution, he recovered his usual firmness of mind, and died professing his absolute assurance of salvation.

No one had been more active than Warriston in stirring up the Scottish people against their sovereign, and in aggravating all the evils and miseries of civil war. For many years he was the most influential leader of the extreme Covenanting party, and he was as merciless as he was powerful. The solemn warning which he received from his brother-in-law, Robert Burnet, to do as he would be done by, and to remember the instability of earthly things, had been disregarded; and the pity which he had never bestowed on others was at last refused to himself. His treason was clearly established; but, even in the case of this wretched man, it would have been well had the government departed from the capital sentence which was pronounced against him.¹

By an act of council, dated the thirteenth of August, all ministers, admitted since the year 1649, who had not obtained presentation and collation, and who notwithstanding continued to officiate either at their own parish churches or elsewhere, were ordered to remove from their several parishes, and not to reside within twenty miles of the same, nor within six miles of Edinburgh, or any cathedral church, or three miles of any royal burgh.²

On Michaelmas-day, Bishop Sydserf died at Edinburgh, and, on the following Sunday, being the day of his funeral, Dr. Wishart and William Annand commemorated in their sermons the life and learning, the labours and the sufferings, of the deceased prelate. Sydserf deserved the commendation

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland; vol. vii. appendix, p. 25. Burnet, vol. i. pp. 350, 351. Mackenzie, pp. 134, 135. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 355-362. A foolish story, originating probably in what Warriston himself mentioned, was afterwards circulated, to the effect that, on the Continent, he was attended by one of the king's physicians, who had been hired to destroy his life by poison, or by taking too much blood from him. His opponents asserted that his madness was a mere pretence for the purpose of obtaining pardon. When examined at London, before being brought down to Scotland, he promised, if his life were spared, to do the king great service by arranging the registers, and settling the royal prerogative from old records; see letter from the Earl of Middleton, quoted by the editor of Kirkton's History, p. 170.

² Wodrow, vol. i. p. 341.

bestowed upon him. He had never shrunk from the open profession of his principles during the worst of times, and, when restored to power and station, he practised the lessons of moderation which he learnt in adversity. His successor in the see of Orkney was Andrew Honeyman, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, a man of learning and ability, but formerly a zealous advocate of Presbyterianism.¹

On the second of November, Archbishop Fairfoul died at Edinburgh. He had done nothing during his short episcopate to justify the choice of those who appointed him to his high office. In January, 1664, Dr. Burnet was translated to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow; and Patrick Scougal, minister at Salton, was appointed Bishop of Aberdeen. The new prelate was the son of Sir John Scougal, the head of a respectable family in East Lothian. He was ordained by one of the bishops of the old succession, probably by Spottiswood, as he was presented to the primate's church of Dairsie in 1636. Scougal's ecclesiastical opinions were similar to those of his patron, but they were not sufficiently strong to prevent him from retaining his benefice on the overthrow of Episcopacy. He was a person of great integrity and piety, and, in 1658, Baillie spoke of him as "a good and noble scholar." The Bishops-elect of Orkney and Aberdeen were consecrated at St. Andrews, on the eleventh of April, 1664; and the Archbishop of Glasgow was installed at the same time.²

* Before the beginning of the year 1664, the re-establishment of the Church was completed, and a brief account may now be given of its government, doctrine, and ritual, during the period between the Restoration and the Revolution.

The system of church government was for the most part similar to that which existed under the former establishment

¹ Nicoll's Diary, p. 400. In reference to Sydserf, Burnet says (vol. i. p. 227), "he lived little more than a year after his translation. He had died in more esteem if he had died a year before it." Unless Burnet alludes to Sydserf's English ordinations, he does not mention a single circumstance to justify this severe remark on the intimate and revered friend of his father.

² Nicoll's Diary, pp. 403, 404, 408. Baillie, vol. iii. p. 365. Life of Robert Blair, pp. 376, 463, 467. Lamont's Diary, pp. 195, 210. It is stated in the inscription on Bishop Scougal's monument in the cathedral of Aberdeen that he was consecrated on Easter-day. If this be correct, the true date of the consecration is the tenth of April.

of Episcopacy. The authority of the archbishops and bishops, and their peculiar position rather as the chief ecclesiastical officers of the sovereign, than as the divinely constituted rulers of the Church, were the same as before. The same ecclesiastical courts also existed—the parochial session, consisting of the minister and his lay assistants or elders; the exercise or presbytery, composed of the ministers of the several parishes within its bounds, one of whom, named by the bishop, acted as moderator; and the diocesan synod, consisting of all the parochial ministers of the diocese, at the meetings of which the bishop himself presided. In theory, the national synod or general assembly of the Church was the highest court of all. The powers claimed and exercised by the assembly during the rebellion had been such, that it was thought necessary to remodel its constitution by a special act of parliament; and even in its amended form it was never allowed to meet. The statute referred to, which was passed during the session of 1663, was entitled an “Act for the establishment and constitution of a National Synod.” The members of the synod were declared to consist of the two archbishops and their suffragan bishops; of the deans of the cathedral churches, and the archdeacons of the various dioceses; of the moderators of the meetings for exercise allowed by the bishops; of one presbyter or minister from each of these meetings, chosen by the moderators and presbyters of the same; and of one or two from the University of St. Andrews, one from the University of Glasgow, one from King’s College and one from Marischal College, Aberdeen, and one from the College of Edinburgh. The synod was to meet at such times and places as the king might appoint, and was to consider such matters, relating to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church, as should be submitted to it by the king’s direction, through its president, the Archbishop of St. Andrews. The synod could only meet in the presence of the king, or his commissioner. No act was to be valid which was contrary to the royal prerogative, or the laws of the kingdom, or which was not approved of by his majesty or his commissioner.¹

¹ Morer’s Short Account of Scotland, p. 47-49. Symson’s Present State of Scotland, pp. 236, 242. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 465.

In doctrine, the old Confession, ratified at the beginning of the Reformation, possessed a certain degree of authority, but rather as sanctioned by the state than as enjoined by any ecclesiastical law. The Confession of Faith and the Catechisms drawn up by the Westminster Assembly, like the other acts of the Covenantee assemblies and parliaments, were no longer of any authority, though some of the bishops seem to have tolerated their use. There was practically, however, at this period, little reference to any other standard than the Scriptures and the Apostles' Creed. The Arminian controversy, which had formerly excited so much attention, was much less frequently alluded to; and gradually and quietly a change was going on, which was preparing the minds of many for a partial or entire rejection of the doctrinal system of Calvinism.¹

The ritual and forms of worship were also almost the same as before the commencement of the troubles. It is doubtful whether the Book of Common Prayer was used even in the chapel royal, except during the short time that the Lady Anne resided in Edinburgh along with her father, the Duke of York. It was not restored in any of the cathedrals, or in the college chapels, although portions of it may have been adopted, as in the form of Morning and Evening Service drawn up by Henry Scougal for the cathedral of Aberdeen. In the parish church of Salton, the English Service was read by Gilbert Burnet, and many of the clergy used the Prayer Book in private; but the civil government gave no encouragement to liturgical reform, and most of the bishops,

Burnet (vol. i. p. 353) and Wodrow (vol. i. p. 353) assert that, by the act of parliament, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, as president of the synod, had a negative voice; and the former historian states, as usual on the authority of Primrose, that this clause was inserted by Sharp with his own hand. These writers have apparently mistaken the meaning of the statute. It says nothing of a negative voice in the primate, though it carefully secures such a right to the king and his commissioner. It speaks indeed of the consent of the president and major part of the members of the synod, just as it does of the representative of the presbytery being chosen by the moderator and major part of the ministers; but this does not imply a veto in either case.

¹ Symson's *Present State of Scotland*, p. 241. Kirkton mentions (pp. 191, 192) that the favourite authors with the younger clergy of the restored Church were Hammond, Thorndike, Sherlock, Taylor, and the like; and on this point there is no reason to distrust his testimony.

recollecting what had taken place in the reign of Charles the First, were afraid to propose any change. In place of the daily offices of the English Church, the forms in Knox's Liturgy were sometimes employed; and, on Sundays, select portions of the Old and New Testament were read, and the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology were invariably introduced.

In the administration of the sacraments there was no authorized form, except that in Baptism the recitation of the Creed was now again required. There was no express statute re-establishing the five Articles of Perth, but their authority was necessarily restored by the terms of the Act Rescissory. In point of fact, however, they were hardly enforced at all; and the practice regarding them was now more lax and irregular than it had been during the former establishment of Episcopacy. Private Baptism was not uncommon; but this, if sometimes sanctioned by authority, as in the diocese of Aberdeen, was, in other cases, only a concession to the indolence of parents. Private Communion of the Sick was less frequent, but it began to be more appreciated, as the ancient doctrine regarding the Eucharist became better known. Kneeling at the Communion, which had formerly caused so much opposition, was not enforced, and was seldom practised. The observance of the holy-days ordered by the Perth assembly was kept up by the bishops, and by the more zealous of the clergy, but was not made compulsory. Confirmation appears to have been entirely neglected.

The English Ordinal seems to have been invariably used at the consecration of bishops, and generally, though not always, at the ordination of priests and deacons. Ordination was conferred by the bishops, with the assistance of their presbyters; but none of them, except Bishop Mitchell, insisted on re-ordaining ministers who had received only Presbyterian ordination, though they did not refuse to do so when asked.¹

It will thus be seen that, in outward appearance, there was little distinction between the established Church, and the Presbyterians who declined to conform to it, except in the

¹ Morer's Short Account of Scotland, p. 59-64. Symson's Present State of Scotland, p. 241. Gordon's Reformed Bishop, pp. 84, 161, 165.

single point of Episcopacy. There was more diversity, however, in reality, than was obvious at first sight, and episcopal ordination and government were preparing the way for very different opinions on various points, especially on those connected with Holy Orders and the Sacraments.

CHAPTER LXV.

FROM THE APPOINTMENT OF BISHOP SCOUGAL TO THE SEE OF ABERDEEN IN JANUARY, 1664, TO THE RESIGNATION OF THE SEE OF GLASGOW BY ARCHBISHOP BURNET IN JANUARY, 1670.

Erection of a Court of High Commission—Exaggerated accounts of its proceedings—Its brief duration—Oppressive measures of the Government—Bishop Leighton's moderation—Account of Gilbert Burnet—He is appointed minister at Salton—His memorial to the Bishops—Diocesan Synod of Dunblane—Insurrection in the West—Increased severities of the Government—Milder counsels adopted—Leighton's plan of a Comprehension—Indulgence granted to the Presbyterian ministers—Opposition of Archbishop Burnet—Meeting of Parliament—Statute defining the royal supremacy—Archbishop Burnet resigns the see of Glasgow.

ON the twenty-sixth of January, 1664, a royal letter, dated the sixteenth of the same month, was laid before the council, by which the Archbishop of St. Andrews, as Primate and Metropolitan of the kingdom, was appointed to take precedence of the Chancellor, and of all other subjects in Scotland. This was merely the renewal of a privilege formerly bestowed on the see of St. Andrews by Charles the First, but which, from the jealousy of the nobles, and the king's unwillingness to give offence, had never been carried into effect. It was now agreed to without opposition. According to Burnet and Row, Archbishop Sharp, not content with this pre-eminence, on the death of the Earl of Glencairn, which took place on the ninth of May, endeavoured, though without success, to obtain the office of Chancellor.¹

On the same day on which the letter of precedence to the

¹ Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 414, 415. Burnet, vol. i. pp. 355, 359-361. Life of Robert Blair, p. 473. Burnet relates very circumstantially the attempt of Sharp to obtain the chancellorship from the king, through the influence of Archbishop Sheldon, and mentions the prevaricating statements which he made to Charles and the English primate; but he does not say how he became acquainted with these private conversations.

primate was granted, an order was signed by the king for re-establishing an ecclesiastical commission. The commissioners nominated were the two archbishops, seven of the bishops, the chancellor, the treasurer, and several noblemen, judges, barons, and burgesses, any five of their number, including an archbishop or bishop, being a quorum. They were enjoined to put in execution all acts of parliament or council for the peace and order of the Church; and they were empowered to summon before them all who resisted ecclesiastical authority, to appoint offending ministers to be suspended or deposed, and to punish them and other transgressors with fine and imprisonment, such punishments not exceeding those ordered by the parliament or council.

The court of High Commission had been very unpopular in the two preceding reigns, and its renewal at this time was injudicious and unnecessary. The causes which came before it, so far as appears, were neither numerous nor important, and might easily have been disposed of by the ordinary civil and ecclesiastical tribunals. Before the end of two years, its powers were allowed to expire. It is probable that the members of the privy council had no wish to see any authority transferred from themselves to another court.¹

¹ Kirkton, p. 205-211. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 384-395. Life of Robert Blair, pp. 463, 464, 470-472, 479, 480. Burnet, vol. i. p. 356. On the subject of the proceedings of the High Commission, many exaggerated statements have been made. Hardly anything is really known about them. Wodrow had searched in vain for the records of the court; and what he relates is derived partly from the testimony of accused persons and their friends, and, to a still greater extent, from the stories of Kirkton. The narrative of Wodrow, in its turn, has been copied by modern writers. One example may be given from an author who never intentionally misleads his readers. Mr. Cunningham says (Church History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 197), "This tyrannical court had its only foundation in the royal prerogative; but it was invested with most plenary powers. None were exempted from its jurisdiction. The slightest whisper against the Established Church might constitute a crime, according to its code of law. It could depose ministers, fine, imprison, whip all; and it did not allow its power to sleep. The arbitrary and inquisitorial proceedings of such a court had once before helped to rouse the indignation of the country; and when again the country beheld faithful ministers banished, pious gentlemen ruined by exorbitant fines, young men and even women cruelly scourged, wrath began to accumulate. Charles himself, blind though he usually was to such things, at length began to see that its proceedings were breeding antipathy and disgust, and, in little more than a year after its institution, ordered it to be discontinued." Mr. Cunningham quotes no authority except Wodrow. The king's letter gave no warrant for

During the year 1664 and the two following years, the various acts of parliament and council for securing conformity were carried out with strictness. Fines were imposed on such as were found guilty of a breach of the laws, and soldiers were quartered on the people in districts where resistance was threatened or apprehended. Thus the same tyrannical measures, which had formerly been used to enforce submission to the Covenant, were now employed for the maintenance of Episcopacy. It is not easy to ascertain how far these proceedings were sanctioned or encouraged by the bishops. According to Wodrow, hardly a step was taken except at the instigation of the prelates; but, numberless as are the passages in which this is averred or implied, he seldom gives any evidence that such was the case. Except during the brief period of the High Commission, the privy council was the body to which the administration of the laws was entrusted, and the only prelates who sat on it at this time were the two archbishops. The other bishops had little political influence.

One prelate, at least, pursued a course very different from that which has been imputed to his brethren. The Bishop of Dunblane endeavoured to impress on the clergy and people of his diocese the lessons of charity and humility by which his own life was guided. But he grieved over the disappointment of those hopes which had induced him to accept the episcopate, and, at his diocesan synod in October, 1665, he

scourging or banishing beyond seas. Only one such case is mentioned by Kirkton or Wodrow. It arose out of some riotous proceedings at Ancrum connected with the induction of Livingstone's successor there, on which occasion "numbers of the poor people convened to give him the welcome abhorred pastors used to get;" and it is asserted that some young men and boys were scourged, branded, and sent to the plantations. Among the accused was a woman who was ordered to be scourged through the streets of Jedburgh. The infliction of the punishment is thus related by Kirkton:—"When the day of her suffering came, the executioner chose rather to be kind to his innocent neighbour than true to the bishops; so he permitted her to keep on her clothes, scarce ever touched her, and hurt her not at all. Her brother led her by the hand, and the execution was attended with more laughter than tears, the people proclaiming the executioner had made the bishop a false prophet; and the bishops were more bitterly cursed than she was whipped." Wodrow mentions the sentence, but omits to state the manner in which it was executed. So far, however, as the High Commission was concerned, the whole story is probably untrue. Row, in his *Life of Robert Blair* (pp. 483, 484), expressly states that it was the Council which punished the rioters at Ancrum.

intimated his intention to resign the see, giving for a reason his sense of his own unworthiness, and his weariness of the strife and confusion which prevailed on all sides. He repaired to London, and tendered to the king a resignation of his bishopric, declaring that he could not concur in the violent courses practised in Scotland, even for the planting of the Christian religion itself, much less for a form of government. Charles assured him that the measures which he objected to would be discontinued, and prevailed on him to return to his diocese.¹

In January, 1665, Gilbert Burnet, son of Robert Burnet of Crimond, was presented to the church of Salton, which had been kept vacant for him by the patron from the time that Bishop Scougal was named to the episcopate. He was now in his twenty-second year, having been born at Edinburgh, in September, 1643. He was educated for some time under the immediate superintendence of his father, and was afterwards sent to Marischal College, Aberdeen. Having devoted himself to the study of theology, he went through his preliminary examinations, and, at the early age of eighteen, was admitted as a probationer, according to the forms then used in Scotland. A benefice was offered to him by his kinsman, Sir Alexander Burnet of Leys, but he refused it on account of his youth. When the western Protesters ceased to officiate after the Act of Glasgow, Burnet was solicited by the Earl of Glencairn to accept one of the vacant churches, but he again declined. On the establishment of the ecclesiastical commission, he remonstrated both with Lauderdale and with the primate, entreating them to pursue more moderate courses. The former would not interfere, and the latter, according to Burnet's own account, disregarded his application, and from that time became very jealous of him.

After a visit to England and the Continent, he returned to his own country in the end of the year 1664, and was ordained priest, by the Bishop of Edinburgh, on his accepting the benefice of Salton. His conduct as a parochial minister was most exemplary. By his constant preaching and catechising, his visiting from house to house, and his liberality in almsgiving, he gained the affections of the people, and succeeded

¹ Leighton's Works, vol. iv. pp. 397, 398. Burnet, vol. i. pp. 367, 368.

in establishing in his church the use of the English Prayer Book. But he was fond of interfering in political matters, and of tendering his advice to his superiors; and he cherished very uncharitable feelings towards those who rebuked his presumption. When he remonstrated against the ecclesiastical commission, he could hardly have been twenty-one years of age, and, soon after his appointment to Salton, he came forward in a still more prominent manner. As he himself tells us, his zeal was kindled against the bishops on account of their lukewarmness and worldliness. He drew up a memorial of the grievances occasioned by their improper conduct, setting forth how much they had departed from the rules of the primitive Church, their neglect of their duties, meddling with secular affairs, raising their families out of the ecclesiastical revenues, and, above all, their persecution of those who differed from them. According to his own statement, he sent copies of this paper, with his signature attached, to all the prelates with whom he was acquainted, but did not communicate the contents to any other individual. The primate's indignation was excited by this proceeding. Burnet was summoned before the bishops, and charged with presumption in thus offering to teach his superiors. The archbishop proposed that he should at once be deprived and excommunicated, but none of the others would agree to so severe a sentence. He refused to ask pardon for what he had done, and finally no punishment whatever was inflicted. This affair, he says, was variously censured, but most persons approved of his conduct. Lauderdale was delighted with it, and gave an account of the whole matter to the king, who expressed no displeasure.

Dr. Cockburn, a Scottish clergyman, and nephew of Bishop Scougal, from whom he had an account of the proceedings, gives a more particular, and, in various respects, a different narrative of the matter. He says that Burnet, in travelling through the kingdom, had collected all the idle stories circulating among the Presbyterians, as well as the grievances complained of by those who were attached to Episcopacy, and resolved to charge the whole against the bishops. His paper began with the words of Elihu in the Book of Job, "I said, days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom. But there is a spirit in man; and the inspiration of

the Almighty giveth them understanding. Great men are not always wise, neither do the aged understand judgment." He blamed the bishops for not calling a general assembly, or enacting canons, or compiling a Liturgy; for not having public daily prayer in their cathedrals; for residing too often in the capital, and out of their dioceses; for their vain display in their families and equipages; and for keeping their clergy at too great a distance.

Dr. Cockburn mentions that the accusation in regard to display and equipage, and residing at Edinburgh, applied chiefly to the primate, who alone of the bishops kept a coach, and who required frequently to be at the capital. The primate, he says, called together those of the bishops who were at Edinburgh at the time he received the memorial. They were much offended by the presumption of so young a man; but they were disposed to pass over the matter, till they found that his averment that the paper had been communicated to the prelates only was untrue, and that he had shewn it to various persons, so that it had actually been sold through the town before some of themselves received their copies. In consequence of this, Burnet was summoned before the bishops, and the primate gave it as his opinion that he should be deposed; but Dr. Scougal spoke strongly in his favour, saying that it was his first fault, and that it was to be hoped the shame of a rebuke would have a good effect upon him in his future life. The primate, seeing that the others were disposed to concur in this suggestion, with some warmth requested the Bishop of Aberdeen to pronounce what sentence he pleased, and thereupon left the meeting. Dr. Scougal caused Burnet to be called in; pointed out his vanity and insolence, his indiscreet zeal, his meddling with matters beyond his sphere, his rashness and prevarication; but declared that, in respect of his youth, and their hope that he would take better heed to his conduct in time to come, he would, on his humble acknowledgment and submission, be punished only with the rebuke thus given.¹

¹ Burnet, vol. i. pp. 263, 356, 373-375; and Life, appendix to his History, vol. vi. p. 234-245. Dr. John Cockburn's Specimens of some free and impartial Remarks on public affairs and particular persons, especially relating to Scotland, occasioned by Dr. Burnet's History of his Own Time, p. 34-43.

Burnet states that, after this affair, in order to shew that he had not acted from any factious motives, he entered on a course of retirement, and gave himself wholly to study, and the duties of his function. Unbecoming as his proceedings had been, they were such as have not unfrequently been prompted by zeal for the truth and by indignation against ecclesiastical abuses. In one respect, however, they had a bad effect on his character. There can be no doubt that the primate was right in supposing that he himself was the person chiefly aimed at in the memorial, and Burnet never forgave the manner in which he shewed his resentment on the occasion.

David Fletcher, Bishop of Argyll, died in March, 1665. It was intended to name John Young, professor of divinity at Glasgow, as his successor; but he died before the appointment was completed, and the see was conferred on William Scroggie, minister at Rathven, son of Dr. Scroggie of Aberdeen. The new bishop was consecrated at Glasgow, in June, 1666.¹

George Haliburton, Bishop of Dunkeld, died on the fifth of April, 1665, and was succeeded by Henry Guthrie, formerly minister at Stirling, who had been deposed for his zealous support of the engagement. On the twenty-fourth of August, Guthrie was consecrated at St. Andrews by the primate, assisted by some other bishops of the province.²

Bishop Leighton held his autumnal diocesan synod in October, 1666. The enactments of former synods as to the reading of the Scriptures, and the recitation of the Creed and the Ten Commandments, during public worship, were renewed. The clergy were recommended to prefer long texts and short sermons to the short texts and very long discourses then common, which, it was stated, were apt to be more wearisome than profitable to the hearers. In any event, they were requested not to have their expositions on the same occasion with their sermons, as these, besides their tediousness, were apt to increase in the people's minds their foolish prejudice against hearing the Scriptures read without a discourse in addition; in which respect, notwithstanding their zeal against

¹ Life of Robert Blair, pp. 478, 490. Note by Mr. David Laing in Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. cxxv.

² Life of Robert Blair, p. 478. Lamont's Diary, pp. 223, 228.

Popery, they seemed to be too much of the Romish opinion, that the Scriptures could not safely be allowed without a continual exposition to aid their obscurity. The ministers were enjoined to reduce the people from their unbecoming deportment during public worship, particularly their most indecent practice of sitting in time of prayer; and to persuade them either to kneel or stand, so that both with bodies and with souls they might worship Him who made both soul and body for that very end, in accordance with the invitatory now so much forgotten, "O come, let us worship, and bow down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker." Injunctions were also given to warn the people against neglect in attending at the celebration of the Holy Communion, as it was one of the chief defects of the Scottish Church, that that great ordinance, so conducive to the increase of holiness, was seldom administered.¹

The laws against Nonconformity had been strictly enforced by the government, and riots and outrages had repeatedly taken place at the settlement of clergymen appointed to succeed the ejected ministers; but hitherto no blood had been shed. In the end of the year 1666, an event occurred which embittered the feeling on both sides. Sir James Turner, a Scottish soldier who had been trained in the wars of Germany, and had afterwards served in the Covenanting armies, but who had adhered faithfully to the royal cause from the time of the engagement, was sent by the council at various times to enforce conformity in Galloway and Nithsdale. In November, 1666, he was residing in Dumfries, his soldiers, then amounting to about seventy men, being quartered on the Nonconformists in the neighbourhood. On the fifteenth of the month, a party of armed insurgents entered the town, and seized Turner in his lodgings. It does not clearly appear whether the rising was accidental, or whether it was deliberately concerted with the exiles in Holland, and on promises of assistance from the Dutch government, then at war with Britain. A considerable number of the peasantry assembled from Galloway, Clydesdale, and Ayrshire, headed by some preachers, and by a few gentlemen and old officers of the Protestant party. At Lanark, they renewed the Covenant, and issued a manifesto complaining of the oppression to which they were subjected, and declaring

¹ Leighton's Works, vol. iv. p. 393-401.

the necessity for taking up arms in defence of their principles. They advanced to Edinburgh, but, finding it impossible to make themselves masters of the city, retired southwards to the Pentland Hills. On the twenty-eighth of November, they were overtaken and defeated by the royal army under General Dalzell.

The insurrection was punished with great severity. Many of the prisoners were executed, and, as they encountered death with fortitude, and in some instances with exultation, they were looked upon as martyrs by the supporters of the Covenant. One of those who suffered was a young preacher named M'Kail. He had left Edinburgh to join the insurgents, and it was supposed that he knew who the parties were by whom the enterprise was secretly encouraged. He was therefore, according to the barbarous practice still common in Scotland, subjected to the torture, but confessed nothing. He was subsequently executed, and died in a rapture of joy, his last words being—"Farewell sun, moon, and stars, farewell kindred and friends, farewell world and time, farewell weak and frail body; welcome eternity, welcome angels and saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God the Judge of all."

Burnet mentions that the best of the clergy entreated the bishops to lay hold of this opportunity of regaining the affections of the people by interceding for the prisoners, and that many of them willingly agreed to do so, particularly the Bishop of Edinburgh. Dr. Wishart had endured much misery while confined by the Covenanters in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, but now, as became his function, he not only supported the cause of mercy, but every day sent a supply of provisions from his own table to those who were in prison. The two archbishops, however, according to the same historian, remained implacable. He asserts that Archbishop Burnet even advised that all should be executed who would not renounce the Covenant; and that he caused the death of M'Kail, by keeping up, till after the execution, a letter which he had brought from the king, expressing an opinion that enough of blood had been shed, and ordering such prisoners as would promise obedience to be liberated, and the others to be sent to the plantations. These charges, if true, would reflect the deepest disgrace on the Archbishop of Glasgow. But they are unsupported by

any evidence, and can hardly be reconciled with the known disposition and character of that prelate. A report to a similar effect, regarding the keeping up of the royal letter, is mentioned by Kirkton, Row, and Wodrow ; but, according to them, it was the Archbishop of St. Andrews, not the Archbishop of Glasgow, who was guilty of this cruelty.¹

Burnet also denounces in the severest terms the conduct of the western clergy after the insurrection was suppressed. He says that, instead of interceding for their people, they encouraged the soldiers in their exactions and cruelty. On this point he professes to have relied chiefly on what was related to him by Sir John Cunningham, an eminent lawyer, of whom he gives the following high character :—" He was episcopal beyond most men in Scotland, who for the far greatest part thought that forms of government were in their own nature indifferent, and might be either good or bad, according to the hands in which they fell ; whereas he thought Episcopacy was of a divine right settled by Christ. He was not only very learned in the civil and canon law, and in the philosophical learning, but was very universal in all other learning ; he was a great divine, and well read in the Fathers, and in ecclesiastical history. He was, above all, a man of eminent probity, and of a sweet temper, and indeed one of the pioussest men of the nation. The state of the Church in those parts went to his heart, for it was not easy to know how to keep an even hand between the perverseness of the people on the one side, and the vices of the clergy on the other. They looked on all those that were sensible of their miscarriages, as enemies of the Church. It was after all hard to believe all that was set about against them."²

In the year 1667, a change took place in the civil administration. The appointment of Rothes as royal commissioner was recalled, and, though he was named chancellor, the chief authority was entrusted to the Earls of Tweeddale and Kincardine, the Earl of Argyll, son of the late marquis, and Sir Robert

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 17-59. Burnet, vol. i. p. 404-412. Kirkton, p. 255. Life of Robert Blair, p. 506. Sir James Turner's Memoirs, p. 139-189. Memoirs of William Veitch, p. 24-43. Wallace's Narrative of the Rising at Pentland, p. 388-432

² Burnet, vol. i. pp. 413, 414.

Murray. These statesmen acted in union with Lauderdale, who, as secretary of state, continued to reside at London. They were averse to severe measures against the Protesters, and were desirous to put an end to the political influence of the two archbishops. The army was disbanded, and a qualified indemnity was granted to those who had been concerned in the late rebellion. It was proposed to establish a court, composed partly of clergymen, partly of laymen, to examine the charges brought against the incumbents in the West; but the measure failed through the opposition of Archbishop Burnet. Several schemes were suggested for the restoration of tranquillity. This object was to be effected either by allowing some of the deprived ministers to officiate, or by a general plan of comprehension, by which the Presbyterians might be induced on certain terms to conform to the Church. The Scottish statesmen were no doubt encouraged in their views, by the proceedings of a similar kind which were contemplated in England after the fall of the Earl of Clarendon.

The assistance of Bishop Leighton was willingly given for the promotion of measures so agreeable to his own ecclesiastical principles and conciliatory disposition. At the request of the Earl of Tweeddale he repaired to London, and, in two conferences to which he was admitted by the king, strongly recommended the adoption of moderate counsels. It was a plan of comprehension, not a mere licence to officiate, which Leighton contemplated. He was willing to sacrifice a considerable part of the episcopal prerogatives in order to gain the Presbyterians, and appealed for a precedent to the concessions made by the African Church to the Donatists. According to his proposal, the Church was to be governed by the bishops and clergy in their ecclesiastical courts. The bishops were merely to be presidents of their synods, and in matters both of jurisdiction and of ordination were to be guided by the majority of their presbyters. Ministers were to be allowed to declare that they only submitted to the bishop for the sake of peace; and those about to be ordained were also to be permitted to make a similar declaration. Provincial synods were to sit every third year, or oftener if the king should summon them, with power to hear complaints against the bishops, and to censure them.

The negotiations for a comprehension were interrupted for some time by an atrocious attempt on the life of the primate. James Mitchell, a preacher who had been concerned in the insurrection, and had been excepted from the indemnity, formed a resolution to murder Archbishop Sharp. In July, 1668, he discharged a pistol at the primate while seated in his coach in the streets of Edinburgh, but the Bishop of Orkney, who was beside him at the time, received the bullet in his arm. The assassin effected his escape.¹

During the summer of 1669, the proposal of an indulgence to the Presbyterian ministers was renewed. A royal letter was laid before the council, by which it was declared that any of the ejected ministers, who had acted in an orderly and quiet manner, might be allowed to resume their duties in their former churches, if vacant, or to be presented to other churches by the patrons, and to enjoy the fruits of their benefices, if willing to take collation, and attend presbyteries and synods; but, if they would not comply with this, they were still to be permitted to officiate within the bounds of the parishes to which they might be appointed, and to possess the manse and glebe, and a certain pecuniary stipend. The council having made the necessary arrangements for carrying out the king's wishes, upwards of forty ministers, among whom were Robert Douglas and George Hutchieson, took the benefit of the indulgence. This proceeding was disliked by most of the prelates and clergy on the one hand, and by the rigid Presbyterians on the other. The former complained of it as contrary to the laws in favour of the Church, and as setting aside the canonical authority of the episcopate. The latter, who at first crowded to hear the complying ministers, when they found that they dwelt on the doctrines of Christianity instead of preaching to the times, denounced their act as a sinful submission to Erastianism; called them dumb dogs that could not bark, and the king's curates, by way

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 115, 116. Burnet, vol. i. pp. 426-430, 476-482. Kirkton, p. 277-279. Burnet says, in regard to the primate, "I lived then much out of the world; yet I thought it decent to go and congratulate on this occasion. He was much touched with it, and put on a shew of devotion upon it. He said with a very serious look, 'My times are wholly in thy hand, O Thou God of my life.' This was the single expression savouring of piety that ever fell from him in all the conversation that passed between him and me."

of distinction from the bishops' curates; and declared that the divine assistance had visibly left them, so that in the churches they no longer preached with the power and authority they had in conventicles. The indulged ministers, on the other hand, complained, as Burnet asserts, of the ignorance and deadness of those who had been the hottest at their meetings, and admitted that those who could argue about the intrinsic power of the Church, and Episcopacy, and Presbytery, knew very little of the essentials of religion.¹

It was in the diocese of Glasgow that most of the indulged ministers were allowed to officiate; and the archbishop and his clergy felt aggrieved by the royal letter, and the proceedings of the council. They saw that the principle involved was fatal to the authority of the bishops, and that it was calculated to make the whole ecclesiastical system established by law entirely dependent on the prerogative of the crown. At their autumnal synod in September, they drew up a formal address to the king, in which they remonstrated against the indulgence, and the measures which had taken place in consequence. The lords of the council were determined to maintain the royal supremacy and their own power. They ordered the archbishop to produce the address, and summoned before them James Ramsay, Dean of Glasgow, and Arthur Ross, Parson of Glasgow, by whom it had been drawn up, and who had been appointed to present it. The council declared the document to be of a dangerous and illegal character. They therefore ordered it to be suppressed, commanded the archbishop to retire to Glasgow, and reported the whole proceedings to the king.²

While this matter was under consideration, the parliament, after an interval of several years, again met at Edinburgh, in the month of October. The Earl of Lauderdale held the office of royal commissioner. In a sermon preached before the estates, the primate stated that there were three pretenders to ecclesiastical supremacy, the Pope, the King, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterians, all whose claims he held to be untenable. The lords of the council would wil-

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 129-135. Burnet, vol. i. p. 487-490.

² Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 142-144. Burnet, vol. i. pp. 491, 492. Mackenzie, pp. 157, 158. Law's Memorials pp. 20, 21.

lingly have taken strong steps against him ; but they did not venture to do so immediately after what had taken place in Archbishop Burnet's case. They resolved, however, by means of a new statute, to define the king's supremacy in such a way, that neither the adherents of Episcopacy on a principle of divine right, nor the Presbyterians, should be allowed any longer to gainsay it. This measure was eagerly supported by the lay lords, and feebly opposed by the prelates. The Archbishop of Glasgow, whose resistance would have been most formidable, had been removed from the parliament ; the primate made some objections, but was terrified by the threats which his late sermon had called forth ; and the Bishop of Dunblane was reluctantly persuaded to acquiesce. Several of the bishops absented themselves from the debate, but all who were present, including the primate, when it came to a vote, gave it their support. The act declared that the king had supreme authority over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical, and that, in virtue thereof, the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the Church belonged to him and his successors, as an inherent right of the crown ; and that his majesty and his successors might enact such orders and constitutions regarding the administration of the external government of the Church, and the persons employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings, and matters to be determined thereat, as they in their royal wisdom should think fit ; which acts, orders, and constitutions, being recorded in the books of council, and duly published, were to be observed and obeyed by all his majesty's subjects, any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding : and all acts, customs, and constitutions, civil or ecclesiastical, inconsistent with the royal supremacy thus defined, were declared to be void and null.¹

The statute, which Lauderdale thus succeeded in carrying through, practically subjected the Church, in doctrine as well as in government, to the absolute will of the sovereign, and subverted all lawful ecclesiastical authority, as completely as the acts of the Covenanting assemblies and parliaments had overthrown the prerogatives of the crown.

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 554, appendix, p. 108. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 136-139. Burnet, vol. i. p. 492-495. Mackenzie, pp. 159, 160.

Strengthened by their new powers, the lords of the council no longer hesitated to take further proceedings against Archbishop Burnet. The king sent down a letter, by which the see of Glasgow was declared vacant; and the archbishop was urged at the same time to resign it into his majesty's hands, threats of still severer measures being held out in the event of his refusal. Dr. Burnet had hitherto acted in a manner worthy of his station, but he had not the courage to defy the king's displeasure, and the vengeance of the government. In January, 1670, he resigned his see.¹

It would have been well if Archbishop Burnet and his synod, while remonstrating against the king's illegal proceedings, had expressed their willingness to agree to a modification or repeal of those laws by which the Presbyterians were oppressed; but, as it was, their act was a memorable one, being the first protest by the clergy of the restored Church against the abuse of that supremacy, in which hitherto they had acquiesced as a necessary safeguard against a return to the tyranny of the Covenanting times.

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 144. Burnet, vol. i. p. 497. Mackenzie, pp. 158, 159. Mackenzie speaks of Archbishop Burnet's conduct in terms of great commendation; yet Dr. Burns, in his edition of Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 143), refers to him as stating that the paper drawn up by the Glasgow synod was as seditious as the Western Remonstrance, and the archbishop not more innocent than James Guthrie. These expressions are indeed in Mackenzie's work, but they are given as representing the sentiments of the archbishop's opponents, not as setting forth the opinions of the author. Bishop Keith (Historical Catalogue, p. 264) ascribes the archbishop's forced resignation to a threatened prosecution against him on account of a letter which he had written to the English secretary of state, Sir Henry Bennet, complaining of the harsh measures of the council regarding the rebels at Pentland. This statement is opposed to the account given by all the writers of the time, and is not to be relied on.

CHAPTER LXVI.

FROM THE RESIGNATION OF THE SEE OF GLASGOW BY ARCHBISHOP BURNET
IN JANUARY, 1670, TO THE RESIGNATION OF THAT SEE BY ARCHBISHOP
LEIGHTON IN AUGUST, 1674.

Leighton acts as Commendator of Glasgow—He holds a diocesan synod there—His conference at Edinburgh with the Presbyterian ministers—He sends six clergymen to preach in the West—Character of James Nairn and Lawrence Charteris—Leighton's conference at Paisley with the Presbyterian ministers—His propositions for an accommodation—They are rejected by the ministers—Meeting of Parliament—Act against Conventicles—Death of Bishop Wishart—Another indulgence given to the Presbyterian ministers—Leighton accepts the archbishopric of Glasgow—James Ramsay appointed to the see of Dunblane—Leighton resigns the see of Glasgow—He retires to England—His death and character.

THE Earls of Lauderdale and Tweeddale, having succeeded in ejecting Archbishop Burnet, were desirous of filling his place with one who would go along with them in their political measures, and whose personal character would reflect no discredit on their choice. In the Bishop of Dunblane these qualities were united. Not attaching much importance to forms of ecclesiastical government, he was willing to submit to the supremacy of the crown; while his eminent virtues, his learning, and his conciliatory manners, were calculated to win the Presbyterians, and at the same time to reconcile the clergy of Glasgow to the loss of a bishop whom they revered and loved. Leighton, however, refused at first to accept of the proffered dignity, and even shewed so much aversion to it as to alarm those who had depended on his consent. They endeavoured to obtain his acquiescence by agreeing to the scheme of accommodation which he looked upon as the only means of healing the divisions of the Church; and, in order the better to overcome his scruples, they caused him to be

again sent for to court. On his way southwards, he had a conference with Gilbert Burnet, who had recently been appointed professor of divinity at Glasgow. There can be little doubt that Burnet, who was favourable to the proposed accommodation, and disliked the late archbishop, used all his influence to prevail on Leighton to accept the see.

On his arrival in London, the Bishop of Dunblane had an interview with the king, and submitted his scheme of accommodation. It received the royal sanction, and Lauderdale was authorized to pass the proposed concessions into laws. Leighton still refused the archiepiscopal office, but agreed, while retaining his own diocese, to administer that of Glasgow as commendator.

Returning to Scotland, he held a diocesan synod at Glasgow in the month of August. The clergy complained of the ill usage which they met with, and of the desertion of their congregations. He advised them to look up to God, and to bear with the injuries and insults to which they were exposed, as the cross laid on them for the exercise of their faith and patience. He exhorted them to lay aside all thought of revenge, and in prayer and fasting to expect the blessing of heaven on their labours. At the synod, a committee was appointed to hear and determine all complaints against the clergy; and public intimation was made, that every one was at full liberty to bring forward any charges before the bishop and the committee. The members of this court met in the month of September, and several ministers, who were found guilty of acts of immorality, were deposed, or otherwise censured.

The bishop visited the most eminent of the indulged ministers, and endeavoured to give them favourable impressions of the proposed accommodation. Burnet, who had accompanied him in his visit, and had no doubt sat as a member of his synod, mentions that his efforts were fruitless, both among the clergy of his diocese, and among the Presbyterian ministers. The former, he says, went home as little edified with their new bishop, as he was with them; the latter were scarcely civil to him, and did not so much as thank him for his kindness and care.

In pursuance of the same design, the Bishop of Dunblane

attended a conference at Edinburgh, to which six of the chief Presbyterian ministers had been summoned by the council. The Earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Tweeddale, and Kincardine, were present, but the primate declined to appear. Leighton used every argument and inducement to obtain the consent of the ministers. He declared his belief that the episcopate, as an order distinct from the presbyterate, had continued in the Church since the days of the Apostles; that the world had everywhere received the Christian religion from bishops; and that parity among clergymen had never been heard of before the middle of the preceding century, when it was set up rather by accident than design. But, notwithstanding of this, he was ready to yield much for the sake of unity and peace. If they would submit to bishops, merely as constant moderators of the synods, nominated by the king, it would be held sufficient; and, whatever others might think of the nature of the episcopal office, they would not be called upon to acknowledge it as of any higher authority. Hutchieson stated that a presidency of that description had always made way for lordly dominion, but asked time for further consultation with his brethren; and this was at once agreed to.¹

With the hope of conciliating the most vehement opponents of Episcopacy, Leighton made choice of six clergymen, whom he sent to preach in favour of the accommodation in the vacant churches throughout the western counties. The persons selected were Gilbert Burnet, James Nairn, minister at Holyrood, Lawrence Charteris, afterwards professor of divinity at Edinburgh, James Aird, minister at Torryburn, and two other ministers, Patrick Cook, and Walter Paterson. Cook and Paterson were no doubt persons of worth and ability, otherwise they would not have been selected for such a task, but hardly anything is known regarding them. Aird was the bishop's intimate friend, with whom he had taken counsel when raised to the episcopal office. Nairn and Charteris were distinguished for their learning and piety, and, like many others of the clergy, were strongly averse to the harsh measures used against the Presbyterians. Some years before, they had both joined in protesting against the deposition of a minister by the Bishop of Edinburgh, in virtue of his episcopal authority,

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 497-505. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 175-178.

without the consent of his synod, qualifying their opposition with the explanation that, if he acted in this as the king's commissioner, they had nothing to say. Nairn had the reputation of being the most eloquent preacher of his time, and was in every respect an example of the maxim which he frequently inculcated, that the pastoral function was a dedication of the whole man to God, and His service. Charteris was ascetic in his own habits, but gentle in his intercourse with others. He had studied the Fathers attentively, and expressed this opinion of them, that, while in speculative points, for which their works were chiefly examined by controversial writers, they were but ordinary men, their excellence lay in that which was least sought for, their sense of spiritual things, and of the pastoral care. Being himself positive in few points, he was much opposed to large confessions of faith, particularly when enforced as tests.

The success of the bishop's evangelists, as the six preachers were termed by the country people, was not great. Their sermons were attended by considerable numbers, but few of their hearers were convinced. They were astonished by the knowledge which the people, even the cottagers and labourers, possessed on certain subjects. The peasantry were ready to discuss points of government, and the limits of the power of princes in religious matters, supporting their opinions by texts of Scripture; but this made them vain and conceited, full of scruples in matters of little importance, and apt to raise difficulties in regard to everything which was laid before them. Burnet and his colleagues remained among them for three months, and, as soon as they were gone, some of the most violent of the Covenanting preachers went to all the places where they had been, and rendered their efforts of little avail.¹

Leighton began to find that he was losing the confidence of many of the supporters of Episcopacy, while he failed in conciliating the Presbyterians, or prevailing upon them to make a single concession. Still, however, not discouraged, he requested another conference at Paisley, in the month of December. He went thither himself, attended by James

¹ Burnet, vol. i. pp. 370, 373, 507, 508. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 177. Life of Robert Blair, p. 468. The character of Nairn and Charteris, given in the text, is almost in the words of Burnet, from one of those beautiful passages for the sake of which most readers willingly excuse much that offends them in his History.

Ramsay, Dean of Glasgow, Gilbert Burnet, and two laymen of his diocese. About thirty Nonconformist ministers met him. He again urged upon them the duty and the blessing of making some sacrifice for the sake of peace, and for the saving of souls. He asked them whether they would have held communion with the Church of God at the time of the Council of Nice. If they were prepared to answer in the negative, he would be less careful of the result of his present effort, since he must say of the Church of that time, "Let my soul be with theirs." But if otherwise, they would not reject the offers now made, which brought Episcopacy much lower than it was then. In reference to a statement which he made, that bishops had never been opposed in the ancient Church except by Acrius, several of the preachers attempted to draw a distinction between the primitive Episcopacy, and that which was established in Scotland, and were answered by Burnet. They again desired more time to consider the matter, and for that purpose to have the bishop's propositions in writing; and this also was agreed to.

The following were the propositions, as written down at the time :—

"First. That, if the dissenting brethren will come to presbyteries and synods, they shall not only not be obliged to renounce their own private opinions regarding church government, and swear or subscribe anything thereto, but shall have the liberty, at their entry to the said meeting, to declare and enter it in what form they please.

"Second. That all church affairs shall be managed in presbyteries or synods, by the free vote of presbyters, or the major part of them.

"Third. If any difference fall out in the diocesan synods betwixt any of the members thereof, it shall be lawful to appeal to a provincial synod or their committee.

"Fourth. That entrants being lawfully presented by the patron, and duly tried by the presbytery, there shall be a day agreed on by the bishop and presbytery for their meeting together for their solemn ordination and admission, at which there shall be one appointed to preach, and that it shall be at the parish church where he is to be admitted, except in the case of impossibility, or extreme inconveniency; and, if any

difference fall out touching that affair, it shall be referable to the provincial synods, or their committee, as any other matter.

“Fifth. It is not to be doubted but the lord commissioner will make good what he offered regarding the establishment of presbyteries and synods; and we trust his grace will procure such security to those brethren for declaring their judgment, that they may do it without any hazard in contravening any law; and that the bishop shall humbly and earnestly recommend this to his grace.

“Sixth. That no entrant shall be engaged to any canonical oath or subscription to the bishop, and that his opinion regarding that government shall not prejudice him in this, but that it shall be free for him to declare.”

In January, 1671, Bishop Leighton and the Presbyterian ministers met, for the last time, at Edinburgh. Hutchieson, speaking in name of his brethren, said that they had considered the propositions, but that they were not satisfied in their consciences to accept of them. The bishop asked whether they on their part had any thing to propose, and was told that they had not. Leighton, in reply, explained what had been the objects of his negotiation, and concluded with the following words:—“My sole object has been to procure peace, and to advance the interests of true religion. In following up this object, I have made several proposals, which, I am fully sensible, involved great diminutions of the just rights of Episcopacy. Yet, since all church power is intended for edification, and not for destruction, I thought that, in our present circumstances, Episcopacy might do more for the prosperity of Christ’s kingdom, by relaxing some of its just pretensions, than it could by keeping hold of all its rightful authority. It is not from any mistrust of the soundness of our cause that I have offered these abatements; for I am well convinced that Episcopacy has subsisted from the apostolic age of the Church. Perhaps I may have wronged my own order, in making such large concessions: but the unerring Discerner of hearts will justify my motives; and I hope ere long to stand excused with my own brethren. You have thought fit to reject our overtures, without assigning any reason for the rejection, and without suggesting any healing measures in the room of ours.

The continuance of the divisions, through which religion languishes, must consequently lie at your door. Before God and man, I wash my hands of whatever evils may result from the rupture of this treaty. I have done my utmost to repair the temple of the Lord, and my sorrow will not be embittered by compunction, should a flood of miseries hereafter rush in through the gap you have refused to assist me in closing.”¹

Thus ended the attempt of Leighton to restore peace and unity to the distracted Church. The endeavour, from the beginning, was almost hopeless. The primate and the majority of the bishops and clergy were opposed to it, some from unworthy motives, but many undoubtedly from a conscientious belief that the proposed concessions were inconsistent with the true doctrine of Episcopacy. On the other hand, even the most moderate Presbyterians declined to yield anything whatever. Some of the offers made by Leighton may have gone beyond what his office and duty warranted; but the spirit by which he was actuated, and the manner in which he sought to promote the accommodation, were in all respects worthy of his apostolic character.

The parliament again met in the summer of 1670, Lauderdale being commissioner. A severe act was passed against conventicles, by which all persons whatever, except the established clergy and the indulged ministers, were forbidden to preach, expound the Scriptures, or pray, at any meeting, unless in their own houses or families, under the pain of imprisonment; and those attending such meetings were subjected to heavy fines in proportion to their rank. It was further enacted that, inasmuch as the holding of open meetings in the fields tended to the encouragement of rebellion, and the disturbance of the public peace, all who preached, expounded the Scriptures, or prayed at such field meetings, or in any house where more persons were assembled than the house could contain, so that some were out of doors, should be

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 511-514. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 180-182. Pearson's Life of Leighton, p. lxxxvii.-xcii. It is singular that Burnet does not mention that the Dean of Glasgow was present at the conference at Paisley, though he was the only clergyman besides himself who accompanied the bishop. He is equally silent as to the part which Ramsay took in the opposition made to the indulgence by the Synod of Glasgow.

punished with death and the confiscation of their goods; and that their hearers should be fined in a sum double the amount of that imposed on those who frequented house conventicles. The act was to continue in force only for three years, unless the king should think fit to continue it longer.

This oppressive and persecuting statute was carried through parliament in such haste, that Leighton knew nothing of it till too late to oppose it. When remonstrances were made to the Earl of Tweeddale, he excused the government on account of a field conventicle lately held in Fife, which had been attended by great numbers, some of whom were armed; and he mentioned also that there was no intention of putting the act in execution.¹

Dr. George Wishart, Bishop of Edinburgh, and David Strachan, Bishop of Brechin, died in the year 1671. The death of Robert Wallace, Bishop of the Isles, had taken place some time before. The faithfulness and zeal, the learning and liberality of Dr. Wishart, have already been mentioned: in regard to the other two prelates, nothing worthy of particular notice seems to be recorded. Alexander Young, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, was appointed to the see of Edinburgh; and Robert Laurie, Dean of Edinburgh, to that of Brechin.²

The parliament again met at Edinburgh in June, 1672. Lauderdale, now created a duke, was still the royal commissioner. An act was passed, forbidding all persons to confer ordination, except those authorized by law; declaring the orders given by such unauthorized persons since the year

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. viii. pp. 9, 10. Burnet; vol. i. p. 505-507.

² Keith's Catalogue, pp. 62, 64, 167, 168. Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. i. p. 6. I have not observed when, or by whom, the new prelates were consecrated. The *congé d'elire* to the dean and chapter of Edinburgh in favour of the Archdeacon of St. Andrews is dated the third of May 1672 (original, among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland at Trinity College, Glenalmond, No. A. 8, of the Catalogue); and, on the seventeenth of July following, Bishop Young and Bishop Laurie took the oaths as lords of parliament (Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. viii. appendix, p. 15). Burnet mentions (vol. i. p. 521) that four bishops died in the year 1671, and that he was himself desired to make choice of one of the vacant sees, including that of Edinburgh; but that both he, and Nairn and Charteris, refused to accept a bishopric.

1661 to be null and void, and the persons ordained by them to be no ministers; and commanding both the ordainers and the ordained to be punished by confiscation of their goods and banishment. An act was also passed, by which the former statute against conventicles was prolonged for other three years, and an explanation made that prayers were not to be prohibited where the numbers assembled did not exceed four, exclusive of the family.¹

It is not easy to explain how these and other persecuting statutes were passed at a time when the king's ministers, both in England and in Scotland, were favourable to a suspension of the laws against Dissenters. The old royalists, and the opponents of the government, declared that Lauderdale and his party increased the rigour of the enactments for the very purpose of preventing their being put in execution. If such was the case, the policy of these statesmen was as short-sighted as it was insincere.

In September, 1672, the privy council granted another indulgence. A considerable number of the ministers ejected since the year 1661 were ordered to repair to certain parishes in the dioceses of Glasgow, Galloway, Edinburgh, and Argyll, two being generally appointed for each parish, with permission to preach, and to exercise the other duties of their functions within the limits assigned, a certain portion of the benefice being allowed them for their support. This indulgence, like the former, was disliked by many of the Nonconformist ministers. There was also much diversity of opinion among their lay adherents; most of the gentry and educated classes attached to Presbyterianism being glad to have an opportunity of attending the ministrations of those whose doctrines they

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. viii. pp. 71, 89. Burnet (vol. i. p. 586-591) denounces in the severest language the haughtiness and tyranny of Lauderdale at this time. He allows that, in order to keep matters right, he was himself led to much uneasy compliance; but, even taking this admission into account, the statements in his History cannot be reconciled with the language of extreme flattery used in the epistle dedicatory to the duke, prefixed to his *Vindication of the Church and State of Scotland*, in which praises of Lauderdale's "noble character" and "princely mind," are accompanied by an acknowledgment of the long tract of uninterrupted tranquillity which the kingdom had enjoyed through the "wise and happy conduct" of this "great prince, greater in his mind than by his fortune."

approved, while the peasantry in general were averse to any compromise.¹

It was apparently not till the end of the year 1672, that Leighton resigned the see of Dunblane. He was now appointed to the see of Glasgow as archbishop, not merely as commendator, but was never formally translated. Although one of the objects which he had chiefly in view, during the whole course of his episcopate, was the restoration of liturgical services in the Church, he was obliged to let matters in this respect remain as he found them in his new diocese. It was indeed beyond his power to do much in regard to a point, in which his predecessor, attached as he was to the English ritual, and supported by his clergy, had not ventured to introduce any important alteration.²

James Ramsay, Dean of Glasgow, was named to the see of Dunblane. He was not unworthy to succeed Bishop Leighton. He had been minister, first at Leinzie, and afterwards at Linlithgow, and had been much respected by the Resolutioners. Soon after the Restoration he was appointed Parson of Hamilton and Dean of Glasgow. He proved his attachment to ecclesiastical authority by taking a chief part in the Glasgow remonstrance against the indulgence; and he had lately shewn, by the assistance which he gave to Bishop Leighton, that he was favourable to any reasonable measures of conciliation.³

With his higher dignity, the troubles of Archbishop Leighton continued to increase. The indulgence did not lead to the giving up of conventicles; the proceedings of the indulged ministers were very different from what had been anticipated; and his own conduct was suspected by many on both sides. He was unable to attend his diocesan synod in April, 1673, but he wrote to the members with his usual fervour and devotion. In the concluding part of his letter, he thus expresses himself:—"Concerning myself I have nothing to say, but humbly

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 203-210. Burnet, vol. i. pp. 591, 592.

² Keith's Catalogue, pp. 182, 268. As to the forms of worship and state of society at Glasgow during Leighton's episcopate, see the extracts from the Diary of Josiah Chorley, given in the preface to the *Munimenta Almæ Universitatis Glasguensis*, pp. xxiv, xxv.

³ Keith's Catalogue, p. 183. Baillie, vol. iii. pp. 313, 487.

to entreat you to pass by the many failings and weaknesses you may have perceived in me, during my abode amongst you; and, if in any thing I have injured or offended you, or any of you, in the management of my public charge, or in private converse, I do sincerely beg your pardon: though I confess I cannot make any requital in that kind; for I do not know of anything towards me, from any of you, that needs a pardon in the least; having generally paid me more kindness and respect than a much better or wiser man could either have expected or deserved." The archbishop's humility was very great; but the testimony thus borne to the conduct of his clergy would not have been given, had it not on their part been really deserved.

Wearied with what he thought was a useless struggle, "longing for the shadows of the evening and to be at rest," the archbishop again resolved to give up his see, and withdraw from public affairs. In August, 1673, he obtained the king's written consent to his resignation, on condition of his holding his office for another year. He returned from court much pleased with this arrangement, and told Burnet that there was now but one uneasy stage between him and rest. A twelvemonth afterwards he claimed the fulfilment of the royal promise, and resigned his archbishopric into the king's hands.¹

After residing for some time at the College of Edinburgh, Leighton retired to Broadhurst, an estate in the parish of Horsted Keynes, in the county of Sussex, belonging to a widowed sister. Far from the scene of storm and turmoil with which his spirit had been vexed, he there found the repose he had long desired. At Horsted Keynes, and the neighbouring churches, he assisted the clergy in their ordinary parochial duties, preaching, and reading the offices in the Book of Common Prayer which he loved so well. He also visited the poor at their own houses, but, in distributing his alms, preferred doing so by the hands of others.

Once only was his retirement disturbed. In the year 1679, the king, at the desire of the Duke of Monmouth, requested Leighton to make a journey to Scotland, and endeavour to establish tranquillity there. He was willing to comply if any

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 592-594; vol. ii. p. 54. Pearson's Life of Leighton, p. cii.-cviii. Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol. iv. part i. pp. 298, 299.

good was likely to come of it, but, for some reason not sufficiently explained, probably the declining influence of the duke, the design was abandoned.

Leighton had frequently said that, if he were to choose a place to die in, it should be an inn; for his departure would be like the return home of a pilgrim, to whom the world was as an inn: and he added that the attendance of strangers was less likely to disturb the mind at such a time than the officious tenderness of friends. This singular wish was granted. In the summer of 1684, the Earl of Perth came up to London, and expressed to Burnet an earnest wish to see Leighton. The request was communicated to the archbishop, who complied with it, and took up his residence at the Bell Inn, in Warwick Lane. Though in his seventy-fourth year, he seemed to be in good health; his hair was still black, and all his former liveliness unimpaired. Burnet, who had not seen him for a considerable time, congratulated him on his looks; he answered that his work and journey were both almost done. The next day he was seized with a sudden illness, and died about thirty-six hours afterwards, on the twenty-fifth of June. His body was taken to Horsted Keynes, and interred within the chancel of the parish church.¹

It is needless to enlarge on the character of Leighton. In his own day he was misunderstood by many. There were Presbyterians who accused him of Popery, because he lived a retired life, recommended the study of Thomas a Kempis, and lamented the destruction of the monasteries; and there were members of his own communion who doubted his attachment to Episcopacy, because he disliked persecution, and wished to conciliate the Nonconformists. The writers of succeeding times, almost without an exception, have done him justice. His biographer has well said, that "it may be doubted whether Christianity in the days of its youthful

¹ Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 54, 423-426. Pearson's *Life of Leighton*, pp. cviii. cxliv.-cxlviii. The archbishop was never married. By his will, which was dated at Broadhurst, the seventeenth of February, 1683—being the year in which he died, as he no doubt used the English style—he left his whole effects for charitable uses, and bequeathed his library, a select and valuable one, to the cathedral of Dunblane, for the benefit of the clergy of that diocese. His works were first edited by Dr. Fall, Principal of the College of Glasgow, and, after the Revolution, Precentor of York. (*Pearson's Life of Leighton*, p. clxxii-clxxv.)

vigour gave birth to a more finished pattern than Leighton, of the love of holiness ;” and a similar remark had previously been made by Alexander Knox. It was to Leighton chiefly, or rather to him alone, that Burnet referred in the well-known passage :—“ I have observed among the few [of the Scottish bishops] to whom I had the honour to be known particularly, as great, and as exemplary things, as ever I met with in all ecclesiastical history ; not only the practice of the strictest of all the ancient canons, but a pitch of virtue and piety beyond what can fall under common imitation, or be made the measure of even the most angelical rank of men ; and saw things in them that would look liker fair ideas, than what men clothed with flesh and blood could grow up to.”¹

¹ See preface to the *Life of Bedell* ; *Pearson's Life of Leighton*, p. cxviii ; *Knox's Remains*, vol. iv. p. 158.

CHAPTER LXVII.

FROM THE RESIGNATION OF THE SEE OF GLASGOW BY ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON IN AUGUST, 1674, TO THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP IN MAY, 1679.

Archbishop Burnet restored to the see of Glasgow—Movement for a National Synod—Opposition of the Archbishop of St. Andrews—Bishop Ramsay supports the movement—Dispute between him and Archbishop Sharp—Increased boldness of the Nonconformists—Field-preachings become common—The Highland Host—Trial of James Mitchell—Popular feeling roused against Archbishop Sharp—Death of the Archbishop—His character.

IN September, 1674, a royal letter was issued, by which Archbishop Burnet was restored to the see of Glasgow; and, in December following, he was again admitted a member of the privy council.¹

Soon after this event, Gilbert Burnet resigned his professorship of divinity at Glasgow, and went to reside in London. His political opinions, and his habit of interfering in matters of every description, must have prevented any cordial co-operation between him and the restored metropolitan; but the principal cause of the change was a quarrel with his former patron, the Duke of Lauderdale.

In the course of the year 1674, the death occurred of two of the most eminent of the Presbyterian ministers, the only two indeed, that still survived, of those who had formerly taken a prominent part in public affairs. Robert Douglas died in January, and George Hutchieson in March; the decease of the latter having been hastened, as was supposed, by the reproaches of the violent members of his own communion.²

James Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway, died in 1674; and William Scroggie, Bishop of Argyll, in the following year. The former prelate was succeeded by John Paterson, Dean of

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 271, 272.

² Law's Memorials, pp. 58, 64, 65.

Edinburgh, son of the Bishop of Ross, the latter by Arthur Ross, Parson of Glasgow, who were both consecrated at Edinburgh, in May, 1675, by their metropolitan, the Archbishop of Glasgow, assisted by the Bishop of Edinburgh, and another prelate whose name is not mentioned.¹

The years 1674 and 1675 were marked by an effort on the part of several of the bishops and clergy to obtain some degree of freedom from the thralldom in which they were held by the state. Those who took the lead in this movement were the Bishops of Edinburgh, Dunblane, and Brechin, and the presbyters of Edinburgh. What they chiefly aimed at was the calling of a national synod, which had often been spoken of, but had never been allowed to meet. They doubtless expected that, by means of an ecclesiastical assembly, they would be able to devise better plans for the reformation of the Church, and for healing the grievances complained of, than could be expected from the secular lords of the council. It is impossible to say whether, if their wishes had been acceded to, the good they expected would have followed; but the endeavour itself was praiseworthy, and the means by which they sought to accomplish it were consistent with the laws both of Church and State.

Archbishop Burnet sympathized with the attempt, but, unfortunately, Lauderdale and the primate were strongly opposed to it. Lauderdale disliked all independent action on the part of the clergy, and probably had no desire for the restoration of harmony and tranquillity; the Archbishop of St. Andrews was jealous of any interference with the episcopal prerogatives, and his own primatial authority. Petitions in favour of a national assembly having been proposed in some of the diocesan synods, and in other ecclesiastical courts, the government became alarmed; and Lauderdale wrote to the primate, regretting that some of those from whom he would have expected other things had joined in the movement, and expressing an opinion that the proceedings themselves resembled those which had taken place before the breaking out of the great rebellion. No one knew better than the duke how utterly unlike the two cases were, and

¹ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 282, 291. Law's Memorials, p. 77. Life of Robert Blair, p. 559.

how little was to be dreaded, so far as the peace of the kingdom was concerned, from a lawful synod of the clergy ; but it suited his policy to represent the matter in a light the most odious to his sovereign, and to all who were afraid of a renewal of the Covenanting tumults.

The primate did not stand in need of Lauderdale's advice to check the proceedings complained of ; and his zeal was increased by some attacks which had been made upon himself, particularly by one of the Edinburgh clergy, Andrew Cant, son of the Presbyterian minister of the same name, who had called him a great grievance to the Church. He wrote to Archbishop Sheldon, entreating him to use his influence with the king to stop the calling of an assembly, and made a formal complaint to the privy council against several of the clergy of the capital.

On the eighth of July, 1674, a meeting was held at St. Andrews, to which all the bishops of the province, and some of the presbyters, were summoned. The Bishop of Dunblane boldly maintained the cause of ecclesiastical reform, though unsupported by any of his brethren, the Bishops of Edinburgh and Brechin having yielded to the arguments or threats of those in authority. The primate rebuked him with harshness, and he left the meeting in consequence. On the following day, he wrote a letter to the archbishop, explaining and vindicating his opinions. He claimed a right for himself and his successors in the see of Dunblane to be present at all such assemblies, along with some of their presbyters, although, on the present occasion, he had been refused the privilege, allowed to other prelates, of being attended by his clergy. He stated that no one regretted the want of canons in the Church more than himself, but that he could not approve of a proposal which had been made on the previous day to supply the deficiency, inasmuch as that meeting was neither a national, a provincial, nor a diocesan synod. Such an attempt, he said, would arouse the suspicions, both of the orderly clergy and of others, that the bishops intended to rule the Church in an arbitrary and irregular manner. More deliberation was requisite in so important a matter, and the Archbishop of Glasgow ought also to have been consulted, both as an independent metropolitan, and as personally well fitted to give

advice. It was also, he said, to be carefully thought of, whether the faith and worship of the Church should not be considered, as well as its discipline, and, after due preparation, the king humbly solicited to call a national synod. He concluded by expressing an opinion that the existing schisms, the cause of most of the evils by which they were afflicted, would best be cured in a church way, and by inducing the gravest and most sober of the Nonconforming ministers to concur with the bishops and clergy.

The opposition of Bishop Ramsay appears to have excited the resentment of the primate. On the twenty-eighth of July, a royal letter was laid before the council, in which his majesty intimated that he had written to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, ordering the Bishop of Dunblane to be translated to the see of the Isles, and Andrew Cant, Archibald Turner, and John Robertson, ministers at Edinburgh, and John Hamilton, minister at Leith, to be removed to other parishes. This arbitrary sentence was carried into execution against the four ministers; and the Bishop of Dunblane was suspended from the exercise of his episcopal functions. The bishop laid his case before the king, and, in the following year, both the primate and himself repaired to London, where an angry correspondence took place between them. A court, composed apparently of the Archbishop of Glasgow and several bishops, was named for the purpose of investigating the charges against Bishop Ramsay, and commenced its sittings in the month of September. In a paper which was laid before them, the bishop denied all factious motives, but admitted his desire for a national synod, and for the compilation of a Catechism, Liturgy, and Canons; mentioning that, after the passing of the act of parliament which defined the constitution of a synod, a royal warrant had actually been granted for drawing up such formularies, and that he himself, at Bishop Wishart's request, had taken part in the work; and expressing a hope that the desire which he had manifested, under the fervour kindled by his consecration, which was then recent, for what was so good an object, would not be imputed as a fault, when he could not find so much as a catechism appointed in the Church, nor a rule by which to try the faith and correct the manners of his diocese.

Bishop Ramsay finally made some apology or submission, the exact import of which is not stated, and, in April, 1676, was restored to his diocese of Dunblane. The four presbyters also submitted, and were allowed to return to their charges, Cant being soon afterwards appointed Principal of the College of Edinburgh.¹

The Nonconformists, more encouraged by the partial toleration which they received, than frightened by the enactments made against them, became bolder in their proceedings. They assembled, sometimes in the churches, but more frequently in the fields, and that even where the churches were open to them. Attendance at field-preachings became a sort of passion, and the danger seemed only to make it the more attractive. When the government attempted to put down these assemblages by force, the people no longer scrupled to offer resistance. Kirkton says, in reference to the state of matters at this time, "The discourse up and down Scotland was the quality and success of the last Sabbath's conventicle; who the preachers were; what the number of the people was; what the affections of the people were; what doctrine the minister preached; what change was among the people; how

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 300-311, 342. Law's Memorials, pp. 70, 71, 84. Life of Robert Blair, pp. 541, 542, 546-549. Stephen, vol. iii. pp. 2, 3. Burnet supplies no information whatever on this interesting subject, beyond the following:—"Some hot men, that were not preferred as they thought they deserved, grew very mutinous, and complained that things were let fall into much confusion. And they raised a grievous outcry for the want of a national synod to regulate our worship and government; and so moved in the diocesan synods that a petition should be offered to the privy council, setting forth the necessity of having a national synod. I liked no part of this. I knew the temper of our clergy too well to depend much on them. Therefore I went out of the way on purpose when our synod was to meet. Petitions were offered for a national synod, which was thought an innocent thing. Yet, it being done on design to heighten the fermentation the kingdom was in, great exceptions were taken to it. One bishop and four of the clergy were turned out by an order from the king, pursuant to the act asserting the supremacy. After a year, upon their submission, they were restored. Though I was not at all concerned in this, (for I was ever of Nazianzen's opinion, who never wished to see any more synods of the clergy,) yet the king was made to believe that I had laid the whole matter, even though I did not appear in any part of it." (History of his Own Time, vol. ii. pp. 46, 47.) Burnet appears to have forgotten that the calling of a national synod had been earnestly urged by himself in his memorial to the bishops in 1665: but, when he wrote the passage in his History, he was probably thinking of the state of the Church of England at a later period; see Swift's brief comment, and Dr. Routh's note, on the passage.

sometimes the soldiers assaulted them, and sometimes killed some of them, sometimes the soldiers were beaten, and some of them killed." Women, as on former occasions, distinguished themselves by their zeal. In June, 1674, a number of them, headed by the widow of John Livingstone, assembled in the Parliament Close at Edinburgh, in order to petition the council for a faithful ministry. When the primate entered, they called him traitor and Judas, and one of them, laying her hand on his neck, said, it must pay for all. Several of these women, among whom was a daughter of Warriston, were imprisoned for their concern in this matter, and others were banished from the city.¹

The council, alarmed by the increase of conventicles, attempted to check them by enforcing the laws lately made, and by reviving former statutes. Many of the most notorious attenders at the field preachings were denounced rebels by name, and letters of intercommuning were issued, by which all persons harbouring them, or assisting them in any way, were declared liable in the same penalties to which the denounced themselves were exposed. Bonds were also tendered for signature, by which the subscribers became responsible for the conduct of their families, servants, and tenants.

In order to compel obedience to the laws, a royal commission was granted in December, 1677, by which the lords of the council were empowered not only to call out the regular troops and the militia, but to assemble the feudal array and Highland following of the northern barons. In virtue of this commission, a considerable number of the clans were quartered in the western counties for about six weeks or two months. These mountaineers, who were styled by the Non-conformists the Highland Host, lived at free quarters in the disturbed districts, and harassed the inhabitants by their exactions. But though rapacious, they were not cruel, and the Covenanters were more frightened than seriously ill-treated. The conduct of the mountaineers was marked by no such acts as in the previous reign had disgraced the soldiers of the Covenant in Kintyre and the Isles. Not a single person lost his life during their stay, except one of the Highlanders themselves, who was killed by a countryman in the parish of Campsie.²

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 268, 269. Kirkton, p. 343-346. Mackenzie, p. 273.

² Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 286-288, 379, 380, 412-432. Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 101, 102, 133-136. Kirkton, p. 385-391.

Andrew Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney, died in February, 1676. Murdoch Mackenzie was in consequence translated from Murray to Orkney; and James Atkins, formerly minister at Birsá in Orkney, who had been deposed by the Covenanters for his loyalty, and since the Restoration had held a benefice in England, was appointed to the see of Murray. Robert Laurie, Bishop of Brechin, died in 1677; and, either in that or in the preceding year, the decease took place of Henry Guthrie, Bishop of Dunkeld. The former prelate was succeeded by George Haliburton, minister at Cupar-Angus; the latter by William Lindsay, minister at Perth. The see of the Isles, which had been vacant for some time, was filled in 1677 by the election of Andrew Wood, minister at Dunbar. John Paterson, Bishop of Ross, died in January, 1679; and, for some political or personal reason not sufficiently explained, the Duke of Lauderdale obliged Alexander Young, Bishop of Edinburgh, to resign his see, and accept the diocese of Ross, in order to make room for the promotion of John Paterson, Bishop of Galloway, to the see of Edinburgh.¹

In January, 1678, James Mitchell, the fanatic who ten years before had attempted to murder Archbishop Sharp, was tried for the second time. Having been apprehended in 1674, he confessed his guilt in regard to the assassination and his concern in the insurrection of 1666, on an assurance from the members of the privy council that his life would be spared; but, when brought before the Court of Justiciary on a charge of rebellion and murder, he refused to adhere to his confession, though warned by the judges that he would thus lose the benefit of the assurance which had been given to him. The council accordingly, on the twelfth of March, 1674, made

¹ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 64, 99, 153, 154, 168, 203, 204, 228, 282, 310. Bishop Honeyman was the author of the *Survey of Naphtali*, and other works. Bishop Guthrie wrote the *Memoirs of his own Time*, down to the murder of King Charles the First. I have found no particular details regarding the consecration of the new prelates, except what Keith mentions, that Bishop Lindsay was consecrated on the seventh of May, 1677, and Bishop Haliburton in 1678. In Lord Fountainhall's *Historical Notices* (vol. i. p. 203), the following occurs under the date of twenty-seventh September, 1678:—"This day, Mr. John Paterson, Bishop of Galloway, was admitted and sworn one of his majesty's privy council. He is the first bishop a counsellor since the king's restoration, though there were archbishops in the said council."

an act, by which they declared that, in consequence of his refusal, the promise which they had given was altogether void. As there was no evidence in regard to the assassination except the confession which he had retracted, and as he made no farther admissions though put to the torture, he was first detained a prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and afterwards sent to the Bass. When he was again brought to trial in 1678, the charge against him was restricted to the attempt to murder the primate. The chief evidence of his guilt was a written confession, subscribed by him in 1674 in presence of a committee of the council ; and, when the accused referred to the promise which had been made to him, the Earl of Rothes, Charles Maitland, Lauderdale's brother, Lauderdale himself, and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, swore that no assurance had been given. The prisoner's counsel thereupon produced a copy of the act of council, and requested that the register should be produced, but this was not allowed by the court. The jury having found Mitchell guilty, sentence of death was pronounced, and he was executed on the eighteenth of January.

These proceedings are important, not so much on account of the wretched assassin, of whose guilt no one had any doubt, as for the terrible stain they have left on the conduct of the presiding judge, and on that of the members of the council who were examined as witnesses. That judge was Sir Archibald Primrose, who had been lately deprived of the lucrative office of Clerk Register, and appointed Justice General. He was one of the committee in whose presence the confession was signed ; and Burnet states that it was he who sent the copy of the act to the prisoner's counsel, for the very purpose of inducing the members of the government to perjure themselves by denying it, and that he afterwards triumphed in the success of his device. According to the same historian, when Lauderdale, after the trial, discovered that a promise had really been made, he proposed that a reprieve should be granted to Mitchell, but this was resisted by Sharp. The archbishop's opposition is also mentioned by Fountainhall.¹

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 248-252, 454-473. Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 125-132, 299. State Trials, vol. vi. p. 1207-1270. Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. i. p. 182-186. Burnet mentions that he received an account of the whole matter,

The odium which this trial naturally and justly called forth was mainly directed against the primate. If any palliation could be found for his conduct, it would be in the terror by which he appears to have been harassed, and which perhaps explains the apparently contradictory accounts which have been given of some of his proceedings. His naturally fearless disposition had given way under the constant dread of assassination. He was denounced by the extreme Covenanting party as a perjured and apostate prelate, the chief persecutor of the saints, and the cause of all the evils by which the country was afflicted. These zealots, at all times fierce and intolerant, had been driven to madness by the severe measures of the government, and openly avowed the lawfulness of putting their persecutors to death. They appealed for authority to the writings of Knox, and, setting the new law of the Gospel utterly aside, referred to the acts of Phinehas and Ehud as examples which they were literally bound to imitate. These opinions were widely circulated, not only in sermons, but by means of books and pamphlets. The weapon thus supplied was wielded, as it generally has been by a persecuted party, with the most reckless violence. Soon after the re-establishment of Episcopacy, the Scottish exiles in Holland had published vehement attacks on the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, which the privy council vainly attempted to suppress; and every year, as the intolerance of the government became greater, the virulence of the writings increased.

This fanaticism was encouraged by the race of preachers which had grown up among the Nonconformists. The old ministers were generally men of good education, and not unfrequently related by consanguinity or marriage to the families of the gentry. Though opposed to Episcopacy, and often ill affected to the civil government, they did not court persecution, and they had no wish, if they could help it, to be reduced to absolute poverty—a species of trial which they particularly dreaded, and which they had been accustomed to view as one of the worst judgments on

and an authentic record of the trial, from Primrose. If the information of such a man had not been supported by better evidence, it would be entitled to little weight. Sir George Mackenzie's account (p. 326-329) is disingenuous, and, in some important points, untrue.

the enemies of the Covenant. Many of them therefore had gladly availed themselves of the indulgences, and were disposed to wait in patience for some political change which might restore the ascendancy of their party. The young preachers were different in every respect. They were for the most part of humble birth, and had little learning or education. In the estimation of their hearers, however, all wants were amply supplied by their fiery zeal and courage, and by their denunciation of every compromise with Prelacy or Erastianism. But the great majority of the peasantry, and a considerable number of the gentry, in the western counties, did not require any prompting from their ministers. It was rather by them that the preachers themselves were urged on. Just as in the former reign the nobility, who at first took a lead, had been set aside by the ministers, so now the ministers were obliged to follow the course which was pointed out by their hearers, and could hope to retain their influence only by sharing the enthusiasm of the most excited portion of their congregations.

Within little more than a year after the trial of Mitchell, the apprehensions of the primate were fearfully realised. A body of fanatics, the chief among whom were Hackston of Rathillet and Balfour of Kinloch, had assembled in arms in Fifeshire, for the purpose, it is said, of waylaying a person of the name of Carmichael, who, as sheriff-depute of the county, had made himself obnoxious by his activity in suppressing conventicles. Some of them had a personal quarrel with the archbishop; others had for some time been watching an opportunity to kill him; and there is reason to believe that their main object was to attack him rather than the sheriff. On learning that the primate, on his return from Edinburgh, was in their immediate neighbourhood, and but a short distance in advance of them, they hastened forwards, and overtook his coach at Magus Moor, near St. Andrews. After disarming his servants, they ordered him to come out, lest his daughter, who was with him, should be injured; and, on his hesitating, they fired into the coach. When he then came out, and implored them to spare his life, they told him that it was for no private hatred to his person, but because he was an enemy of the Gospel, a murderer of the saints, and a betrayer of the Church, that they now executed vengeance upon him. Disregarding

alike his own prayers, and the entreaties of his daughter, who was wounded in the struggle, they slew him with repeated thrusts of their swords. This atrocious murder was perpetrated at noonday, on the third of May, 1679.¹

Thus died James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, when he had almost completed the sixty-first year of his age. Little requires to be added to what has already been said regarding his character. The charge of treachery, so often brought against him in connection with his negotiations in 1660, has been shewn to be groundless, being unsupported by evidence, and refuted by the circumstance that the very party for which he acted, with a few exceptions, adopted the same course as himself. He was temperate and upright in private life, liberal in his charities, and exemplary in the performance of his ordinary duties. The stories of his immoralities, told by some writers, are utterly incredible, and are disgraceful to those who relate them. His acceptance of the primacy necessarily exposed him to suspicion. It has been said that his change from Presbyterianism to Episcopacy is no more to be censured than that of Henderson in the opposite direction. But the circumstances were very different. Henderson forsook his prelatical opinions when Prelacy was in the ascendancy, and clung to his new creed during many years of difficulty and danger. Sharp adopted his new principles, when the change led to worldly honour and advancement. Neither was the conduct of the archbishop, from the time of his elevation, such as to make men forget the part which he had formerly taken. He made no attempt to conciliate the enemies of the hierarchy by kindness or moderation; and, while he refused to join with some of his brethren in the episcopate in the promotion of the reforms which the Church stood so much in need of, he, almost alone of their number, took a prominent part in the enactment and execution of those cruel laws, by which an arbitrary government attempted to suppress all resistance to established authority.

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 41-51. Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 226, 227. Russell's Account of the Murder, annexed to Kirkton's History, p. 403-424.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP IN MAY, 1679, TO THE DEATH
OF BISHOP SCOUGAL IN FEBRUARY, 1682.

*Archbishop Burnet appointed to the see of St. Andrews—Insurrection of the Covenanters—Differences among the Presbyterians—The Cameronians—Cruelty of the Government—Fanaticism of the Nonconformists—Movements in favour of a Liturgy—The Test Act—Trial of the Earl of Argyll—Objections to the Test by the clergy of Aberdeen—The Privy Council sanction an explanation of the Test—Tranquillity of the northern dioceses—Progress of the Quaker opinions in the North—Wise government of Bishop Scougal—Account of his son Henry Scougal, and of his nephew John Cockburn—Character of the clergy of Aberdeen—James Gordon, Parson of Banchory-Devenick—He publishes *The Reformed Bishop*—He is deposed—Death of Bishop Scougal.*

SOON after the death of Archbishop Sharp, Dr. Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, was appointed primate. Arthur Ross, Bishop of Argyll, who had been translated to Galloway, vacant by the appointment of Bishop Paterson to the see of Edinburgh, was nominated to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow; and Bishop Atkins was translated to Galloway. Colin Falconer, minister at Forres, was nominated to the see of Argyll, and soon afterwards translated to Murray; and Hector Maclean, minister at Eastwood, was raised to the see of Argyll. William Lindsay, Bishop of Dunkeld, died in the course of the year 1679, and was succeeded by Andrew Bruce, Archdeacon of St. Andrews. In the following year, on the decease of Bishop Patrick Forbes, Andrew Wood was translated to Caithness, and Archibald Graham, Parson of Rothsay, was appointed Bishop of the Isles. Bishop Falconer and Bishop Bruce were consecrated at St. Andrews, on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, 1679, both the archbishops apparently being present.¹

¹ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 43, 99, 154, 218, 269, 282, 292, 310. Lyon's His.

Immediately after the murder of Archbishop Sharp, a reward was offered for the discovery of the assassins, but the efforts made to apprehend them were unsuccessful. The crime was viewed with detestation, not only by the members of the established Church, but by most of the Presbyterians. A few, however, of the indulged Nonconformists spoke of it in doubtful terms, neither condemning, nor venturing altogether to defend it; while the extreme Covenanting party gloried in the act, as justified alike by political and religious duty. These last, encouraged by the blow which had been struck, and believing that no middle course now remained, prepared for open and general resistance.

On the twenty-ninth of May, the anniversary of the king's restoration, a body of armed Covenanters entered the burgh of Rutherglen, extinguished the bonfires which were lighted in honour of the day, and burned copies of the Act Rescissory, the Act establishing Episcopacy, the Declaration against the Covenants, and some other obnoxious acts of parliament and council; and fixed on the market cross a declaration of what they had done, and of the principles on which they proceeded. A conventicle was to meet on the following Sunday at Loudonhill, in Clydesdale, and one of the ministers present at Rutherglen was to preach on the occasion. Graham of Claverhouse, who commanded a small detachment of the royal army, hearing of their design, attempted to disperse them, but was driven back by the Covenanters. The insurgents were joined soon afterwards by considerable numbers from Ayrshire, Galloway, and Nithsdale, and became so formidable that the king's troops were obliged to abandon Glasgow. Disputes, however, broke out among them. They had been joined by some of the moderate Presbyterians, but the two parties, instead of acting together, were occupied in contending about the lawfulness of the indulgence. In the meantime, the Duke of Monmouth had been sent to take the command of the royal army, and advanced against the rebels, who were encamped at Bothwell.

tory of St. Andrews, vol. ii. p. 103. Stephen, vol. iii. pp. 190, 191. I have seen no notice of the consecration of Bishop Graham and Bishop Maclean. Row states (*Life of Robert Blair*, p. 572) that in the beginning of July two prelates were consecrated at St. Andrews; but this probably refers, though the date is erroneous, to Bishop Falconer and Bishop Bruce.

After some vain attempts at negotiation, the duke forced the passage of the Clyde, and routed and dispersed the insurgents on the twenty-second of June.¹

The punishments inflicted by the government on those who were concerned in the rebellion were less severe than might have been expected. Two ministers, and five other persons, were executed; but the common people were dismissed, on their signing a bond by which they promised not again to take arms against the king. A considerable number, however, were so far led away by their fanatical opinions, as to refuse pardon on these terms, and were in consequence shipped off to the English plantations in America; while, of those who came under the engagement, it is stated that many did so with the mental reservation that the rising was not against his majesty's authority, and therefore that they were not bound to pursue a different course if another opportunity should occur.

The differences between the two parties among the Presbyterians now led to an entire separation. The more violent Covenanters became known by the title of Cameronians, from the name of a seditious preacher, Richard Cameron, who, with Donald Cargill and a few others, was esteemed to possess an exclusive right to a lawful ministry; the authority of the rest being held to be invalidated by their compliances with the government. The principles of this sect were supposed to be promulgated in a document known as the Queensferry Paper, and were acknowledged in a declaration, publicly read, and fixed on the market cross of the burgh of Sanquhar, on the twenty-second of June, 1680. In the Sanquhar Declaration, the Cameronians expressly disclaimed the authority of Charles Stewart, alleging that he had forfeited the crown by his tyranny, perjury, and breach of the Covenant; and they declared war against him as a tyrant and a usurper. They also protested against the succession of the Duke of York, and concluded with expressing a hope that none would be offended by their rewarding their opponents, as the Lord should give them opportunity, in the same manner as they had themselves

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 65-111. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 227-231. Law's Memorials, p. 149-151. Ure's Narrative of the Rising at Bothwell Bridge, p. 455-483. Russell's Account of the Murder of Archbishop Sharp, p. 434-469.

been treated. About a month after the date of this declaration, a party of those concerned in it were attacked by the king's troops and defeated. Cameron was killed on the spot, and the prisoners, among whom was Hackston of Rathillet, were executed.

No government could have tolerated the frantic proceedings of the Cameronians, but the severities inflicted far exceeded the measure of the offence. Additional provocation was given by another act of Cargill. In the month of September, that preacher, after a sermon to a large assemblage at the Torwood, solemnly excommunicated the king, the Duke of York, the Dukes of Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, General Dalzell, and Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate; and copies of the excommunication were subsequently fixed by his adherents on the market cross and Parliament House at Edinburgh. In the following June, Cargill was taken and executed. In January, 1681, two women, Isobel Alison and Marion Harvey, who maintained the most extravagant doctrines of their sect, disowning the king's authority, saying it was lawful to kill him, and expressing their sympathy with the murderers of the primate in word at least, if not also by assisting them to escape, were convicted, and punished with death. The government may have been provoked to put the laws in force, even against the female sex, in consequence of some atrocious murders committed by the insurgents, in one of which a woman took part; but no mere expression of opinion, however wicked or absurd, not even such acts as were charged, could justify this execution.¹

The violence of the Protesters had led to the fanaticism of the Cameronians, and that fanaticism, as time went on, became even more extravagant. Some of the preachers laid claim to the gifts of miracle and prophesy, or at least allowed their adherents to believe that they possessed such powers. The solitary life the Covenanters were obliged to lead, their constant fear of apprehension and death, the wild doctrines

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 123-140, 202-232, 274-287. Law's Memorials, pp. 152-161, 167-169, 182-184, 197-199. Law, a contemporary Presbyterian minister, who had the best means of knowing the facts, censures the follies and crimes of the Cameronians with a straight-forward severity which contrasts strongly with the disingenuous apologies of Wodrow.

they listened to, and the denunciations of divine judgments on their enemies in which they indulged, gave rise to opinions and practices not unlike the superstitions of earlier ages. The Cameronian biographies are full of passages which bear a striking resemblance to some of the medieval legends. In delusions of this kind a sect originated, whose follies were sometimes unjustly ascribed to the whole Covenanting party. Its founder was John Gib, a shipmaster in Borrowstouness, who had the reputation of being what in the language of the day was called a great professor. His followers, most of whom were women, were known by the name of the sweet singers. They deserted their families and callings, and spent much of their time in the fields, listening to the exhortations of their teachers, and testifying, as they alleged, against the wickedness of the times. Their leaders, who were apprehended and committed to prison in April, 1681, sent a paper to the privy council, in which they made open profession of their extravagant opinions. They began by declaring that they had taken the Psalms in metre out of their Bibles and burnt them, because they were no part of the Scriptures; and they had also renounced the chapters and verses, and the contents prefixed, for the same reason. They condemned the translations of both Testaments, the Larger and the Shorter Catechism, the Confession of Faith, the Acts of the General Assembly, and the Covenants. They renounced Charles Stewart and all other tyrants, the names of the months and days, all holy days except the Sabbath, and all the customs and fashions of the world. After they had been confined for some time, the council gave orders that they should be liberated, on their disclaiming disloyal principles.¹

When Episcopacy was restored in Scotland, most of those who adhered to it on higher principles than mere political expediency were desirous of a reform in the worship, as well as in the government of the Church. As already mentioned, a few liturgical changes were introduced, but, though farther improvements had been contemplated, nothing of importance was actually accomplished. The old supporters of the hierarchy, Sydserf and Mitchell, Wishart and Burnet, and the best of those who came over from Presbyterianism, Leighton,

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 348-356. Law's Memorials, p. 186-193.

Ramsay, and Ross, were favourable to those measures; but they were unable to carry out their plans, while the leading statesmen were hostile, and the primate lukewarm. Row, in his narrative of events in the year 1675, mentions that many conformists began to dispute for a Liturgy, and some to preach for it, but that Sharp had no good-will to encounter the danger which had been fatal to his predecessors. The appointment of Archbishop Burnet to the see of St. Andrews, if it had taken place at an earlier period, might have led to more beneficial results. As it was, one of the few acts of the government in favour of liturgical reform took place soon after his nomination. In February, 1680, the privy council, on the representation of some of their own number, gave their formal sanction to the use of the Book of Common Prayer in the worship of families.¹

After an interval of several years, the parliament was again summoned. It met at Edinburgh, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1681, and the Duke of York, who had left England during the discussions on the bill for excluding him from the succession to that kingdom, presided as royal commissioner. On the thirty-first of August, a statute was passed, known by the name of the Test Act, by which all persons holding any office, civil or ecclesiastical, were ordained to swear that they sincerely professed the true Protestant religion, contained in the Confession of Faith ratified by the first parliament of King James the Sixth; and that they would adhere thereto, educate their children therein, and never consent to any alteration in the same. They were also to affirm and swear that the king's majesty was the only supreme governor of the realm, over all persons, and in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil; that it was unlawful for subjects, on any pretence whatever, to enter into covenants or leagues, or to assemble in council or convention to treat of any matter affecting the Church or State, without his permission; that it was unlawful to take up arms against him; that there lay no obligation

¹ Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 232. Life of Robert Blair, p. 563. In June, 1681, Dr. Turner, at that time residing in Scotland as chaplain to the Duke of York, and afterwards Bishop of Ely, mentions in a letter to Archbishop Sancroft, that many copies of the Prayer Book were sold at Edinburgh. (Collection of Letters from Scottish Prelates and others to Archbishop Sancroft, p. 29.)

upon them from the National Covenant, or Solemn League and Covenant, or in any other way, to endeavour any change in the government of Church and State as then established by law; and that they would never decline his majesty's power and jurisdiction. By a separate clause, to meet the case of the Duke of York, the king's brothers and sons were to be exempted from the penalties imposed on those who held office without taking the oath.

This act, which received the support of the primate, was hurried through parliament, but was opposed by several members, particularly by the Earl of Argyll, and by Sir James Dalrymple, President of the Session, the latter of whom proposed the insertion of the clause regarding the Confession of Faith, as explanatory of the vague term, Protestant religion, in the hope that those who disliked that formulary would reject the whole measure. Some of the privy council, and other noblemen and gentlemen, had scruples about taking the Test, but finally complied. Sir James Dalrymple refused altogether, and was obliged to resign his office and leave the kingdom. The Earl of Argyll was more harshly dealt with. From the time of his restoration to the earldom which had been forfeited by his father's treason, he had taken a leading part in political measures, had sat in the privy council, and been one of the chief supporters of Lauderdale's administration. Though personally disposed to favour the Nonconformists, he had concurred in all the acts passed against them, and had been rewarded by grants which increased the influence of his house, already so powerful, in the Western Highlands. But he was zealous against Popery, and, during the sitting of the parliament of 1681, incurred the resentment of the Duke of York, by proposals which he made for the better security of the Protestant religion. When called upon to take the Test, he hesitated at first, but at last agreed to do so, with the explanation that he assented to it, in so far as it was consistent with itself, and with the Protestant religion, and that he was not thereby to be precluded from seeking any alterations in Church or State in a lawful way. On account of this proceeding he was accused of high treason, and committed to ward in the Castle of Edinburgh. He was defended at his trial by the ablest lawyers of the day, but was found guilty.

Sentence was postponed till the king's wishes should be known. It is probable that there was no intention of carrying matters to extremity ; but, naturally dreading the worst, he effected his escape from confinement, and, after remaining for some time in concealment, retired to Holland. When his flight became known, the Court of Justiciary met, and pronounced sentence of death against him.

The proceedings in Argyll's case were most tyrannical and unjust, and their iniquity was the greater, that the council itself had allowed the oath to be taken by other parties with an explanation of its meaning. Many of the clergy had scruples about the Test, and among them was Bishop Scougal, who, from old age, had been unable to attend the parliament. Following the example of their own doctors at the time of the Covenant, some of the ministers in the diocese of Aberdeen drew up a paper, in which they stated their difficulties in regard to the new enactment. They objected to receiving the Confession of Faith as the standard of their belief, because some passages in it were obscure and doubtful, and some contrary to the doctrine of their own and other Reformed Churches ; referring particularly to its statement that the image of God was entirely defaced in man, to its denial that the ministers of the Popish Church were true ministers of Christ, and to its enjoining obedience to rulers only so long as they were vigilant in the execution of their office. They asked how they could be called upon to swear that the king's majesty was the only supreme governor over all persons, and in all causes, when the Confession itself taught that Jesus Christ was the only Head of the Church, and their own belief was that ecclesiastical authority was derived, not from secular princes, but from Christ. They also asked how, if they believed that the established ecclesiastical government was divine and apostolical, they could swear to the king's power to alter it ; and, if they thought that it was in its nature indifferent, how they could swear to that which the king could alter at pleasure. Another paper was also put forth, containing reasons why the clergy could not take the Test. Its authors are not known, but Wodrow conjectures, with much probability, that it proceeded from some of the ministers of Edinburgh. It certainly came from a school of divines in-

clining to Puritanism, and of principles different from those entertained by the clergy of Aberdeen.

Discussions of a still more formal character took place at some of the diocesan synods. The clergy of Aberdeen, Dunkeld, and Argyll, agreed to comply with the act, only under certain explanations regarding the Confession of Faith, and the king's supremacy; and, from the proceedings which took place at these meetings, it appears that they had never been called upon expressly to acknowledge the royal supremacy, as defined in the Assertory Act. The council were alarmed by the increasing discontent, and published an explanation of the Test, originally suggested by Bishop Pater-son, by which the prelates were authorised to administer the oath to their clergy, in the sense that they did not swear to every proposition or clause in the Confession of Faith, but only to the true Protestant religion, founded on the word of God, contained in that confession, as it was opposed to Popery and fanaticism; that by the Test no invasion or encroachment was made or intended on the intrinsic spiritual power of the Church, or the power of the keys, as it was exercised by the Apostles, and the most pure and primitive Church in the first three centuries after Christ, and was still reserved entirely to the Church; and that the oath and Test were without any prejudice to the episcopal government of the Church, which was declared by the act of his majesty's first parliament to be most agreeable to the word of God, and most suitable to monarchy, and which, upon all occasions, his majesty had declared that he would inviolably and unalterably observe.

This explanation, which received the royal sanction, was satisfactory to the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, and to most of the clergy throughout the kingdom. A few, however, in the North, who were inclined to Presbyterianism, among whom was George Meldrum who had formerly been suspended by Bishop Mitchell, refused to subscribe, and resigned their charges. In the South, the same course was adopted by Lawrence Charteris, and by a considerable number of the younger clergy who revered him as their teacher and guide.¹

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. viii. pp. 243, 244. Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 295-344, 360-362. Law's Memorials, p. 203-213. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 301-314. State Trials, vol. viii. p. 843 990. Collection of Letters to Archbishop

In the controversy regarding the Test, it is worthy of notice that the diocese where the opposition was for some time the strongest, was that in which the clergy held the highest views on the subject of Episcopacy. Throughout the northern dioceses generally, the changes which took place at the Restoration were welcomed with satisfaction by the great body of the people as a relief from the tyranny of the Covenanters. And since that time, while the south-western counties had become the scene of discontent and rebellion, the North had enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity. Although Presbyterianism, however, was rejected, the neighbourhood of Aberdeen was for some years the stronghold of a sect which found little support in most other parts of the kingdom. The opinions of the Quakers were adopted by a considerable number of the citizens, and by some respectable families of the gentry, especially by those who had been vehement supporters of the Covenant. Foremost among the disciples of the new sect were Robert Barclay of Ury, and Alexander Jaffray. In a volume containing a diary written by the latter, and memoirs compiled from authentic contemporary documents by a descendant of the former, an interesting account is given of the rise and progress of the Quakers in Scotland. The narrative shews that the persecuting spirit, which was directed against Presbyterians in the South, appeared in the North, though in a mitigated form, in opposition to the Quakers. And unfortunately also, the writings of these sectaries shew that, though they had abandoned the tenets of the Covenanters, they retained some of their worst qualities—their stubbornness and pride, their railing censorious disposition, and their delight in tracing the divine judgments in every calamity which befel their persecutors.

The persons most active in stirring up the civil authorities against the Quakers at Aberdeen were the conforming Puritan ministers, Meldrum and Menzies; but Archbishop Sharp and Bishop Scougal were not free from blame. Even the Presbyterian Nonconformists, while suffering themselves from the severity of the laws, accused the council and the prelates of neglect of duty, in not putting into execution the statutes

Sancroft, p. 31-36. Burnet mentions that about eighty of the clergy resigned on account of the Test, several of whom came to England, and obtained cures through his influence.

against Papists and Quakers. At Aberdeen, the members of the latter society were repeatedly attacked by the populace, and were imprisoned, and otherwise harshly treated, by the magistrates. But, as their doctrines happily forbade them to offer resistance, there were no such cruel punishments on the one side, nor such fierce retaliation on the other, as were of so frequent occurrence in the South.

With the exception of the trouble caused by the Quakers, little happened to disturb the quiet and happy course of Scougal's episcopate. He was strict in the administration of discipline; but few refused submission to a ruler, whose conscientious principles were appreciated, and whose personal demeanour was distinguished for its mildness and courtesy. In his History, Bishop Burnet, while speaking very unfavourably of the Scottish prelates of his own day, makes a special exception in regard to Scougal; and, in another work, he bears still more distinct testimony to his virtues. "His endearing gentleness," he says, "to all that differed from him, his great strictness in giving Orders, his most unaffected humility and contempt of the world, were things so singular in him, that they deserved to be much more admired than his other talents, which were also extraordinary, a wonderful strength of judgment, a dexterity in the conduct of affairs, which he employed chiefly in the making up of differences, and a discretion in his whole deportment. For he had a way of familiarity, by which he gave everybody all sort of freedom with him, and in which at the same time he inspired them with a veneration for him; and by that he gained so much on their affections, that he was considered as the common father of his whole diocese, and the Dissenters themselves seemed to esteem him no less than the Conformists did. He took great pleasure in discoursing often with young divines, and set himself to frame in them right and generous notions of the Christian religion, and of the pastoral care; so that a set of men grew up under his labours, that carry still in them clear characters of his spirit and temper."¹

Bishop Scougal, like Bishop Patrick Forbes, was happy in having a son who imitated his virtues. Henry Scougal was born in June, 1650. He was educated at King's College,

¹ Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. i. p. 373, and Preface to the Life of Bedell.

Aberdeen; and he afterwards taught philosophy in that university for four years, at the end of which time, having received holy orders, he became minister at Auchterless, in his father's diocese. When only twenty-four years of age, he was chosen to fill the same office which had been held by Dr. John Forbes, that of professor of divinity in King's College; and his zeal, ability, and piety, justified the appointment. He died on the thirteenth of June, 1678, and was buried within the chapel of King's College, beside the grave of Bishop Elphinstone. Dr. George Garden, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, preached the funeral sermon, and commemorated the virtues of the pastor and divine thus early taken away.

Henry Scougal deserved all the praise which has been bestowed upon him. Learning and piety never appeared in a more attractive form than in his life and in his writings. In an age of strife and controversy, when most persons, in maintaining what they believed to be the truth, seem to have lost sight of charity, he discharged his duties faithfully, and yet with meekness and humility. Beloved by all while he lived, his memory continues to be cherished by the Church which he adorned. His writings have always been highly esteemed. The work which is best known—"The Life of God in the Soul of Man"—in its purity and beauty the faithful picture of his own mind, which so many great writers have delighted to praise, and which has been the source of so much good to devout persons of very different opinions, was published during the author's life-time by Gilbert Burnet.¹

Among the clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen at this time was John Cockburn, a nephew of the bishop, who has already been referred to in connection with his account of the proceedings against Gilbert Burnet in 1665. He was brought up in the bishop's family at Salton and at Aberdeen along with his cousin, Henry Scougal, both of them from their early years having been designed for the ministry of the Church. Cockburn was ordained about the year 1675, and was minister, first at Udny, and afterwards at Old Deer. He was one of

¹ See Patrick Cockburn's preface to the edition of Henry Scougal's Works, published at London in 1726, and Dr. Garden's Funeral Sermon, appended to the same volume. Burnet was personally acquainted with Henry Scougal, and intended at one time to write a biographical notice both of him and of his father; see Dr. John Cockburn's Remarks, pp. 60, 61.

those who had scruples about the Test, and was among the last of the clergy of Aberdeen who subscribed it. After the Revolution of 1688 he went abroad, although it does not appear that he refused to acknowledge the new civil government. He officiated as chaplain to the British congregations at Rotterdam and Amsterdam, using the Book of Common Prayer, and praying by name for King William, and afterwards for Queen Anne. In the reign of the latter sovereign he returned to England, and received a benefice from the queen, who esteemed him so much, that she intended to name him as one of the new prelates for the American colonies, had the purpose of sending bishops thither been carried out.¹

Living under the strict yet paternal government of Bishop Scougal, having before them the example, and assisted by the teaching of his son, the clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen were men of a very different character from that which careless or prejudiced writers have described as common to almost all the ministers of the established Church at this time. They gave little heed to those questions, rather political than religious, which the Nonconformists held to be of such importance; neither, while maintaining the lawfulness or necessity of Episcopacy, did they make matters of church government the general subject of their teaching; but they insisted much on the love of God, and charity to men, and on the great points of Christian belief and practice. The examples of holiness to which they appealed were chiefly derived from the ancient Church, from the Reformed Church in England, or from those among themselves who had shewn a kindred spirit. When Henry Scougal addressed the clergy, assembled in diocesan synod, on the importance and difficulty of the ministerial function, he referred to Nazianzen and Ambrose, to Chrysos-

¹ Dr. John Cockburn's Remarks, p. 29. Defence of Dr. Cockburn's Remarks against the author of a Vindication of Bishop Burnet, pp. 16-18, 34. Selections from the Ecclesiastical Records of Aberdeen, pp. 314-320, 327-329. Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 361. I am not certain whether the John Cockburn, who was minister at Ormiston, in East Lothian; in 1685 (Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 178, 179), and who in 1688 commenced printing a work containing "the monthly transactions and an account of books out of the Universal Bibliotheque and others," which was immediately suppressed by the government because it contained some passages reflecting on the Roman Catholic Church (Chambers's Domestic Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 490), was the nephew of Bishop Scougal.

tom and Augustine, and to "the excellent Herbert, that sweet singer of Israel;" and Dr. George Garden, in the sermon already mentioned, spoke of Leighton, then living in retirement, as one who was a great light of their nation.

But the very circumstance that the clergy of Aberdeen were zealous and learned, and that they attended to the discharge of their pastoral duties, made them more conscious of the great deficiencies of the Scottish Church—of its want of a Liturgy and ritual, of the abuses of ecclesiastical patronage, and of its absolute subjection to the State. The younger and more ardent of their number allowed themselves to dwell too much on these evils, and to propose remedies hardly consistent with the duties which they owed to their ecclesiastical superiors; while, on the other hand, Bishop Scougal was in this point too little disposed to regard the wishes of his presbyters, and, in one case, became in consequence a party to an act of harshness and injustice. This took place after the death of his son, whose influence and youthful sympathies might have led to the adoption of milder counsels. Among the clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen was James Gordon, Parson of Banchory-Devenick, son of a distinguished physician, Dr. William Gordon, professor of medicine in King's College, and the friend and associate of Forbes, Baron, and Sibbald. From conviction and hereditary feeling strongly attached to the hierarchy, the Parson of Banchory submitted with reluctance to those defects which the prudence or timidity of the bishops did not attempt to remedy. Himself a man past middle life, he was probably looked up to as a leader by the younger clergy who chiefly composed the discontented party. The records of the diocese shew that he was of a hasty temper; and, according to the statements of his opponents, his zeal was sharpened by disappointed ambition.

In the year 1679, Gordon published a work, called "The Reformed Bishop." This treatise, though written in an uncouth, pedantic style, is remarkable for its learning, its force of argument, and its indignant denunciations of the prevalent corruptions. Individual offenders were not spared: though no names were mentioned, some of the allusions evidently referred to Archbishop Sharp, and to Dr. John Paterson, Bishop of Edinburgh, a prelate deeply involved in the worst

political measures of the time, and of doubtful character in private life. The author lamented the evils which the encouragement of Puritanical superstitions had occasioned, such as the desecration of Passion Week, and the practice of fasting on Sundays, introduced, he says, by the "pilots of the Leman Lake." He expressed an ardent wish for a return to the free election of bishops, for the compilation of a Catechism and Canons, the gradual introduction of a Liturgy, the re-establishment of the rite of Confirmation, and even for the restoration of monasteries under proper restrictions. He censured the attempts to convert schismatics by persecution and corporal punishment, instead of the use of ecclesiastical remedies; and ascribed the dangers and calamities of the Church, in part, to the circumstance that her rulers were selected, not from among those who had always been faithful to the hierarchy and monarchy, but chiefly from the members of that party which had overthrown both, so that the only change from the period of the Covenant was that, in place of a Presbyterian moderator, they had now a Presbyterian bishop, invested with a new title and with larger revenues. He concluded by stating that all he wished was the establishment of such a moderate Episcopacy as King Charles the First was ready and willing to sanction, a system, he said, which, in that martyr's own words, "would at once satisfy all just desires and interests of good bishops, humble presbyters, and sober people; so as church affairs should be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity, neither bishops ejected, nor presbyters despised, nor people oppressed."

Gordon's treatise, though bearing the marks of honest zeal and uncompromising sincerity, had in it passages written with bitterness of feeling, and containing personal allusions of a nature calculated to provoke and justify the censures of his superiors. It was printed on the Continent, without the author's name; but it was soon known by whom it was composed, and it is probable no great pains were taken to conceal the fact. He was summoned before an episcopal synod, at which Archbishop Burnet presided, and, in January, 1680, was deposed from his office of the ministry, and deprived of the benefice of Banchory-Devenick. The sentence itself was much more severe than the offence warranted; and the terms in which it

was expressed shewed that it was dictated rather by personal animosity, than by judicial calmness and impartiality. It was intimated by the primate to Gordon, who at once submitted to it, renouncing all right of appeal to any other tribunal. The bishops, when time was afforded for reflection, apparently became ashamed of their harshness. Gordon was soon afterwards restored to his office and his benefice.

It was probably to the efforts of Gordon, and of those who held similar opinions in the diocese of Aberdeen, that Gilbert Burnet alludes in his preface to the *Life of Bedell*, where he speaks of Bishop Scougal's attention being directed to the "great heat in some young minds, that, as he believed, had very good intentions, but were too forward, and complained much of abuses, calling loudly and not very decently for a reformation of them." Burnet evidently approved of the bishop's conduct on this occasion. The documents which remain do not afford sufficient means of forming an accurate judgment regarding the conduct of the parties, but the attempts of the reformers might have called forth more sympathy from one who fourteen years before had acted, under similar circumstances, in a manner at least equally objectionable.¹

The last important act of Scougal's episcopate was his cour-

¹ In reference to the proceedings connected with Gordon's book, I have consulted a copy of the Sentence of Deposition among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, No. B. 32, of the Catalogue. The spirit in which the synod acted may be judged of from one passage :—"For all which malicious, slanderous, and impious defamations, notwithstanding that the said Mr. James Gordon hath rendered himself justly obnoxious to the highest and heaviest censure of the Church, as having incurred the curse of wicked Cham, in the most eminent degree ; yet we have, in order to the vindication of the honour of the Church and its governors, and for the reclaiming, if possible, of the said Mr James out of the snare of the devil, into which through his malice and ambition he hath wilfully thrown himself, thought fit at this time to proceed only to the sentence of deposition." In an act of the privy council in November, 1680, The Reformed Bishop is classed with seditious and forbidden works, such as Buchanan *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, Calderwood's *History*, and Naphtali (Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 240). A contemporary epigram probably indicates the popular opinion of the treatise, and of its author :—

"On the Author of The Reformed Bishop.

"If your book had never been seen
You had been Bishop of Aberdeen ;
If you had been Bishop of Aberdeen,
Your book had never been seen."

ageous opposition to the Test ; and to him chiefly the Church was indebted for the mitigated form of subscription allowed by the privy council. He died on the sixteenth of February, 1682, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his episcopate, and was buried within the nave of his cathedral, where a monument erected to his memory is still preserved.

CHAPTER LXIX.

FROM THE DEATH OF BISHOP SCOUGAL IN FEBRUARY, 1682, TO THE FLIGHT OF KING JAMES FROM ENGLAND IN DECEMBER, 1688.

Death of Archbishop Burnet—Arthur Ross, Archbishop of Glasgow, raised to the Primacy—Death of King Charles the Second—Accession of King James the Seventh—Declaration put forth by the Cameronians—Cruel persecution by the Government—Exaggerated accounts of particular cases of Persecution—Execution of the Earl of Argyll—The King fails in an attempt to obtain a repeal of the penal laws against Roman Catholics—He dispenses with these laws in virtue of his royal authority—Bishop Bruce and Archbishop Cairncross deprived by the Government—Alexander Rose appointed to the see of Edinburgh—The King grants a Toleration to the Presbyterians—Address by the Presbyterians to the King—Account of James Renwick—His trial and execution—Address by the Bishops to the King—Flight of King James from England.

A FEW days before the death of Bishop Scougal, the primate wrote to Archbishop Sancroft, entreating him to advise the king not to dispose of the Scottish bishoprics till the prelates should have an opportunity of being heard; and mentioning that those intruded upon them by the intercession of great men, though they might be useful to their patrons, neither dared nor would be just and faithful to the Church, as had been experienced to his grief in many instances. It does not appear whether this urgent request led to any change in the mode of recommending to bishoprics, but there can be no doubt that, in the exercise of the royal supremacy, too much cause had been given for the primate's complaint.

When the see of Aberdeen became vacant, it was filled by the translation of Bishop Haliburton from Brechin, while Robert Douglas, Dean of Glasgow, was appointed to the latter bishopric.

Alexander Young, Bishop of Ross, and formerly Bishop of

Edinburgh, died in the beginning of the year 1684, and was succeeded by James Ramsay, Bishop of Dunblane, on whose translation the see of Dunblane was conferred on Bishop Douglas. The new Bishop of Brechin was Alexander Cairncross. Keith mentions that this prelate, though the heir of an ancient family, was at one period of his life in such humble circumstances, that for many years he exercised the trade of a dyer in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and was thereby enabled to recover by purchase part of the estate of his ancestors. Having been ordained, he was appointed Parson of Dumfries, and held that benefice when, by the recommendation of the Duke of Queensberry, he was nominated to the see of Brechin. Bishop Cairncross was consecrated at St. Andrews, on the tenth of August, 1684. The primate was present on this occasion, and, as the Bishops of Ross and Dunblane were installed the same day, they no doubt assisted at the consecration.¹

On the evening of the day on which he took part in these solemnities at St. Andrews, Archbishop Burnet became ill. He died on the twenty-second of the same month, and was buried within the College of St. Salvator, near the tomb of Bishop Kennedy. Dr. Burnet was a prelate of considerable ability, and of excellent private character. Wodrow admits that his morals were pure: as he expresses it, "he was certainly one of the best morals among the present clergy." He adds that the primate was "a mighty bigot for the English ceremonies and forms, and as forward to have all the usages of that Church introduced into Scotland, as if he had been educated by Bishop Laud." He is accused also of obtaining his restoration to the see of Glasgow by a simoniacal compact; but this story rests on no better authority than the worthless narrative of Kirkton. The charge brought against him of undue severity to the Nonconformists is better substantiated. While there is no reason to believe the exaggerated accounts of his opponents, it is certain that, in the latter years of his episcopate, the archbishop resisted all attempts to mitigate the strictness of the penal laws. His disposition, naturally mild and humane, appears to have been

¹ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 134, 168, 183, 204, 269. Collection of Letters to Archbishop Sancroft, p. 52. Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. ii. p. 549.

changed by the evil influences of the time, and by the trying position in which he was placed.¹

Within a few weeks after the decease of Archbishop Burnet, it was known that Arthur Ross, Archbishop of Glasgow, was fixed upon as his successor. The new primate was a person of blameless life, and of undoubted attachment to the principles of the Church; but his acquirements were of a very moderate description, and he was in all respects much inferior to his predecessor. His father, a descendant of the house of Kilravock, was a minister in the diocese of Aberdeen; and the archbishop himself, at the period of the Restoration, was incumbent of Kinerny, in the same diocese, and in that capacity signed the declaration of the synod in favour of the re-establishment of the ancient ecclesiastical government. He owed his appointment as Parson of Glasgow to Archbishop Burnet, whom he strenuously supported in his remonstrance against the indulgence, and towards whom he always cherished a reverential attachment.²

On the appointment of Archbishop Ross to the primacy, Bishop Cairncross was translated to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow; and Dr. James Drummond, Parson of Muthil, was nominated Bishop of Brechin, and was consecrated on Christmas-day by the primate, in the abbey church of Holyrood.³

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 43. Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. ii. p. 549. Kirkton, p. 304. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 8. Collection of Letters to Archbishop Sancroft, p. 65. On the last letter which he received from the Scottish primate, Archbishop Sancroft endorsed the following lines:—

“Obiit, Aug. 22, 1684, hora 2^a matutina.
Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit;
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Scotia.”

² Keith's Catalogue, p. 43. Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock, p. 525. See also Collection of Letters to Archbishop Sancroft, pp. 67, 75. Wodrow (vol. iii. p. 345) tells a silly and malicious story reflecting on the alleged mean descent of Archbishop Ross. Had his birth been as there represented, it would have been no discredit to the primate. But the statement is untrue, and only illustrates its author's recklessness of assertion wherever the prelates are concerned. Equally malevolent and reprehensible is Gilbert Burnet's brief account of the archbishop's promotion (vol. ii. pp. 426, 427): “Burnet died in Scotland, and Ross, a poor, ignorant, worthless man, but in whom obedience and fury were so eminent, that these supplied all other defects, was raised to be the Primate of that Church, which was indeed a sad omen, as well as a step to its fall and ruin.”

³ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 169, 269. Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 375. Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. ii. pp. 576, 596.

The Duke of Rothes died in 1681, and the Duke of Lauderdale in the autumn of the following year. The latter nobleman outlived his authority and reputation: one of his last public acts was a vain attempt to preserve his friend the Earl of Argyll. Rothes possessed considerable talents, but was careless and dissolute, inheriting the vices of his father, as well as his predilections in favour of the Covenanters, though, from political motives, he did not hesitate to persecute them. Lauderdale was a man of higher ability. In his youth, and during his long captivity in England, he professed great strictness in his religious principles; and he never ceased to cultivate theological and ecclesiastical studies, although his various guides were of very different opinions—at first, Henderson and Baillie, at a subsequent period, Baxter, and, finally, Hickes. But his life and conduct ill agreed with these grave pursuits.

The death of Rothes and Lauderdale made room for the promotion of several noblemen, who acted generally in subordination to the Duke of York, and were zealous supporters of his right of succession to the crown. Sir George Gordon of Haddo, son of Sir John Gordon the faithful adherent of King Charles the First, was appointed Chancellor, and soon afterwards created Earl of Aberdeen. He held his high office only for two years, and was succeeded by the Earl of Perth. The office of Lord High Treasurer, after having for some time been put into commission, was conferred on the Duke of Queensberry. Both this nobleman and the Earl of Perth professed great attachment to the hierarchy, and the latter enjoyed in consequence the entire confidence of the bishops.¹

On the sixth of February, 1685, Charles the Second died at Whitehall. He had never visited his northern kingdom from the time of his residence there in 1650 and 1651.

¹ Archbishop Burnet, writing to the English primate on the sixth of March, 1682, calls the Earl of Perth “a great friend and patron of all our orderly clergy here, and indeed a Nathanael, a true Israelite;” and the earl himself, in a letter to Sancroft, dated the sixth of July in the same year, says, “As I consider it my greatest happiness to have been bred up to have a just consideration of the Church of England, of which I hope to live and die a member though unworthy; so to see the Church under the care and government of so worthy and holy a patriarch, must be my greatest joy.” (Collection of Letters to Archbishop Sancroft, pp. 37, 41.)

Careless and indifferent as he was in regard to his most solemn duties, and good-natured as he generally shewed himself to those who had injured him, he never forgot his own personal degradation, and the persecution of his best friends, caused by the tyranny of the Covenanters. Individual feeling, as well as policy, prompted the execution of those measures by which he sought to suppress the influence of Puritanism in Scotland.

On the decease of Charles, his brother, the Duke of York, succeeded to the throne without opposition, and was proclaimed at the market cross of Edinburgh on the tenth of February, by the style and title of James the Seventh, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland.

During the last years of Charles, and in the beginning of the reign of James, the Scottish government was carried on in the same arbitrary manner as before. The terms of the Test Act brought almost all classes in some shape or other within the reach of its provisions. That statute became as convenient an engine of tyranny to the rulers of the day, as the Covenant had formerly been to the Puritans; and to be called a Fanatic was now as dangerous as it had once been to bear the name of a Malignant. The history of those years has come down to us almost exclusively in the narratives of the Covenanting party; but, making all reasonable allowance on this ground, and for the reckless provocation given to the government, enough remains to shew that a large proportion of the people in the south-western counties were cruelly persecuted, or forced to profess an outward conformity to a system which they detested.

Fresh severities, on the part of the government, were caused by another declaration put forth by the Cameronians in October, 1684. Copies of this paper, which was drawn up by James Renwick, one of their preachers, were affixed to the market crosses of several burghs, and to the doors of various parish churches. By it they proclaimed their adherence to their former renunciation of Charles Stewart, and declared that they would punish, according to their power, as enemies of God and the Covenanted work of Reformation, all who should assist in putting the existing laws in execution, warning such persons that they would be dealt with as they dealt with the supporters of the declaration. Two gentlemen of the king's

life-guards having soon afterwards been murdered by the Cameronians, the Lords of Session, in answer to a question put to them by the privy council, gave it as their opinion, that such of the king's subjects as refused to answer on oath, when asked by any one commissioned by his majesty whether they owned the declaration in so far as it declared war against his majesty, and as it asserted the lawfulness of killing those employed by him, were, by so refusing, guilty of treason. The council, having received this answer, made an act that all who owned the declaration, or who refused on oath to disown it, should be put to death, whether in arms or not.

In ordinary times no person who had any regard for the common maxims of law or religion could have hesitated to abjure the principles denounced by the council; but the long course of insurrection on the one side, and of persecution on the other, had so affected men's minds, that many who had taken no part in the rebellious proceedings of the Covenanters yet hesitated to condemn them, and the act of council became in consequence the instrument of further oppression.¹

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 148-165. Among the cruel deeds of this time, two have attracted particular attention. The one is the case of John Brown of Priestfield, who was shot before his own door; the other that of Margaret M'Lauchlan or Lauchlison, and Margaret Wilson, who are said to have been drowned at Wigton: see Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 244-249, and the *Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. i. pp. 72-74, 288. The case of Brown has been examined by Mr. Aytoun, in the appendix to his *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, and by Mr. Napier, in the first volume of his *Life of Dundee*; and these writers have shewn that the details, as given by Wodrow, are greatly exaggerated, and that Brown had been in arms against the government. It is doubtful whether the other story, so far as regards the death of the women, is not an absolute fiction. They were undoubtedly condemned to death; and by special instructions of the privy council (Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 165) drowning was the capital punishment in the case of women so convicted. Both Wodrow and the writer in the *Biographia Presbyteriana* admit that the fact of the drowning had been denied by the royalists; and the former quotes the act of the privy council reprieving the two women, and recommending them to the king for a pardon—a recommendation, he says, which in most cases was equivalent to an actual remission. Wodrow professes to give the act of council verbatim, but his copy is imperfect and incorrect. It is given at length by Mr. Anderson in his *Ladies of the Covenant*, p. 165, along with a document of which Wodrow says nothing—a supplication by Lauchlison to the council for mercy, and a promise by her to take the oath required by law, and to submit to the government. The act of council, however, as given by Mr. Anderson, differs in one most important word from the original record, “Wigton” being substituted for “Edinburgh.” (Compare MS. *Registrum Secreti Concilii*, Acta, 1685, p. 56.) Unless “Edinburgh” be a mistake on the part of the writer of the record, this

A parliament was summoned soon after the accession of James. It met at Edinburgh, on the twenty-third of April, and the Duke of Queensberry was the royal commissioner. By a statute enacted during this session, the giving or taking of the National Covenant, or of the Solemn League and Covenant, or the writing in defence thereof, or the owning of them as lawful, was declared to be treason. By another act, all preachers at house or field conventicles, and all persons whatsoever taking part in field conventicles, were to be punished with death and confiscation of goods. The provisions regarding the Test were also renewed, with certain additions and modifications, although some opposition was made by the Bishops of Ross and Dunblane.¹

Before the parliament rose, the Earl of Argyll had landed in

shews that, on the thirtieth of April, 1685, when the recommendation for a remission was made, the women were under the custody of the magistrates of Edinburgh; and it is incredible that before the eleventh of May—the date of the alleged execution—an answer could have come from the secretaries of state at London, and the women have been conveyed to Wigton. Utterly unjustifiable as was the general character of the persecution, it is important, for the sake of historical truth, that the mistakes and misrepresentations of Wodrow and others, in regard to particular cases, should be pointed out. This is the more requisite, from the errors which have become current on the subject. It is, for instance, a common impression that the drowning of the two women at Wigton was not a solitary occurrence of the kind, but a specimen of what not unfrequently took place. As on a like point formerly referred to, Mr. Cunningham has been thus misled. (Compare his *Church History*, vol. ii. pp. 237, 241-243.) On no other occasion was punishment inflicted in that manner. Farther, except in this alleged case of Lauchlison and Wilson, and in that of Alison and Harvey already mentioned, no women suffered death in Scotland for political offences during the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Seventh. Wodrow indeed refers (vol. iii. pp. 409, 410) to the case of Christian Fyfe. She was condemned to death for assaulting a clergyman in his own church, and for treasonable speeches; but it is not said that she was executed—an omission which certainly would not have been made if the sentence had been carried into execution. Sir George Mackenzie expressly asserts (*Vindication of the Government*, Works, vol. ii. p. 348) that only two women were executed during the reigns of Charles and James. His reference is to the case of Alison and Harvey, and, on a point where he could have been so easily refuted, his assertion is entitled to credit. Considering the tendency of persecution to lead on its abettors from one act of cruelty to another, and the hardening effects on all concerned of the horrible punishments inflicted on so many wretched women on charges of witchcraft, it need hardly excite surprise that in some cases sentences of capital punishment were pronounced or executed on females.

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. viii. pp. 461, 471. Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 259-282.

Scotland. This nobleman, inflamed by resentment against the king, entered into the cabals of the exiles in Holland, and, in concert with the Duke of Monmouth, planned an invasion of Britain. The attempt was unsuccessful, and the earl, having been made prisoner, was executed in terms of his former sentence. He died with Christian fortitude and resignation. Had he been convicted and punished for rebellion, the justice of the government could not have been called in question ; but, as it was, the iniquity of his attainder made his real guilt be forgotten.

The parliament was again summoned to meet at Edinburgh, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1686, the Earl of Murray being the royal commissioner. That nobleman, and the chancellor, Lord Perth, who had recently been so zealous in his professions of attachment to the Church of England, had now joined the Roman Catholic communion. The king's intentions to obtain a repeal of the penal laws against the members of the Church of Rome, or to dispense with their execution, had for some time been well known. The primate and the Bishop of Edinburgh had repaired to London, in the month of March, and had presented a paper, in which they declared their willingness that all sanguinary laws in regard to religion should be abolished, so far as they inferred the pains of death and forfeiture against Papists merely for their religion ; and that the Papists should have immunity from the infliction of other penalties, and be allowed the exercise of their worship in private houses. "This," they said, "seemeth to us, who are not lawyers, equitable and reasonable to be done, considering that the execution of these sanguinary laws is fallen into an absolute desuetude for many years past ; and that the other penalties enacted against Papists have not been exacted or inflicted, during the time of the last reign." On the other hand, the clergy of Aberdeen, at their diocesan synod, had requested their ordinary to oppose the repeal of the penal laws. When the parliament met, it shewed an unexpected zeal against the proposed concessions, the Bishops of Galloway, Ross, and Dunkeld, taking a leading part in resisting the measures of the government. The draft of an act was read, by which Roman Catholics were to be allowed the exercise of their religion in private, but the commissioner and the

chancellor, apprehensive that it might not be carried, and doubtful whether their sovereign would be satisfied, withdrew the proposal, and nothing farther was done.

The king now resolved to do by his own authority what he had failed to accomplish in parliament. In a letter to the council, dated the twenty-first of August, he announced his pleasure that his Roman Catholic subjects should be allowed the free private exercise of their religion; and he intimated that he had ordered a chapel for the celebration of the Roman worship to be fitted up in the palace of Holyrood.¹

In order to intimidate the opponents of his measures, King James, in the month of June, ordered the council to deprive Bishop Bruce; and the royal command was at once obeyed. The see of Dunkeld was offered to Dr. Drummond, Bishop of Brechin, but he refused to accept it, saying that he knew of no vacancy there. John Hamilton, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, had no such scruples. He was ready to accept the bishopric, but another unexpected obstacle occurred. The chapter of Dunkeld hesitated to act on the *congé d'elire*, and only acquiesced, when threatened by one of their own number with a charge of treason, and informed that the chancellor had ordered all who should resist to be committed to prison. Hamilton was accordingly elected, and, on the fourth of November, was consecrated at St. Andrews.²

On the eleventh of November, Colin Falconer, Bishop of Murray, died at his castle of Spynie. His successor was Alexander Rose, nephew of the primate, a clergyman whose character and attainments rendered him worthy of the office to which he was now raised. Rose, after receiving his education at Aberdeen, and studying divinity under Dr. Gilbert Burnet at Glasgow, had been successively appointed minister at Perth, professor of divinity at Glasgow, and Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews.³

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 358-390. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 110. Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. ii. p. 750. The paper presented by the primate and Bishop Paterson is to be found in the Collection of Letters to Archbishop Sancroft, p. 96-98, and appears to be the same document as that mentioned by Burnet (vol. iii. p. 109), though its import is not correctly stated by the historian.

² Keith's Catalogue, pp. 99, 100. Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. ii. pp. 725, 728, 754.

³ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 154, 155. Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock, p. 526.

Another of the bishops was soon afterwards deprived by the secular power. This arose out of the following circumstances. Among the clergy of the diocese of Glasgow was Dr. James Canaries, who, having abjured the errors of Popery in 1682, and conformed to the established Church, had been appointed minister at Selkirk. On the fourteenth of February, 1686, he preached a sermon in the cathedral church of St. Giles at Edinburgh, in presence of most of the members of the privy council and several of the bishops, in which he condemned in strong language the corruptions of Rome. The chancellor reprimanded him for his conduct, but, not satisfied with this, enjoined his ordinary to proceed with the infliction of ecclesiastical censures. Archbishop Cairncross hesitated, unwilling either to offend the government, or to incur popular odium by obeying the injunction. He, therefore, advised Canaries to leave Scotland for some time; and that clergyman accordingly went to London, where he shewed his sermon to the Bishop of Ely and others, who highly approved of it, and caused it to be printed under the title of "Rome's Additions to Christianity." The Earl of Perth, more indignant than before, remonstrated with the archbishop, who in consequence suspended Dr. Canaries.

The timidity of Archbishop Cairncross led to the very consequences which he wished to avoid. Both he and Canaries, who had returned to Scotland, were examined by the chancellor, in presence of the primate and two other bishops, and, the circumstances having been reported to the king, the archbishop was deprived, although he offered to submit to whatever might be required by his majesty. The deprivation took place in January, 1687, and, immediately afterwards, Dr. Paterson, Bishop of Edinburgh, was appointed to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow. The see of Edinburgh was filled by the translation of the Bishop of Murray, but, when the chapter met in December to receive the king's congé d'elire, Andrew Cant, son of the clergyman who had suffered a temporary deprivation for joining in the movement to obtain a national synod, and minister of the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity, declared that he elected Bishop Rose only in obedience to the king's letter; and the members who had not previously assented gave their vote in the same manner. Dr.

William Hay, minister at Perth, was nominated Bishop of Murray, and was consecrated in the beginning of the year 1688.

In February, 1687, a royal proclamation was issued, which set forth that his majesty, in virtue of his sovereign authority and absolute power which all his subjects were bound to obey without reserve, gave permission to the moderate Presbyterians, to meet at their private houses and hear all such ministers as were willing to accept the indulgence thus offered; to the Quakers, to meet in any place appointed for their worship; and to Roman Catholics, to celebrate their religious services in houses or chapels. But field conventicles among Presbyterians were prohibited as before; and Roman Catholics were forbidden to preach in the fields, or to seize Protestant churches, or to make processions in the streets of royal burghs. All the penal laws, and political disabilities, imposed on Roman Catholics, were also suspended; and all laws and tests, by which any of the king's subjects were incapacitated from holding place or office, were dispensed with, an oath being appointed in lieu thereof, by which they were to swear that his majesty was the rightful king and supreme governor of his realms, and over all persons therein, and that it was unlawful for subjects, on any pretence whatever, to rise in arms against him. The king also declared that he would employ indifferently all his subjects, of whatever persuasion, so that none should meet with discouragement on account of their religion.

As the Presbyterian ministers declined to take the benefit of this indulgence, the king, in conformity with the policy which he was now pursuing in England, issued another proclamation, by which a fuller and more unfettered toleration was granted. In virtue of it, all penal laws against nonconformity were suspended, and all the king's subjects were allowed to meet and serve God in their own way and manner, either in private houses, or in chapels, or places built or hired for the purpose, on condition that nothing disloyal should be taught on those occasions, that the places of meeting should be open to

¹ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 155, 269, 270. Fountainhall's Historical Notices, vol. ii. pp. 709, 711, 746, 775, 776, 786, 834, 841, 842. Lyon's History of St. Andrews, vol. ii. p. 103. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 502, 503.

all, and that the names of the places and preachers should be made known to the government. All field conventicles were still prohibited. The Presbyterians had no longer any scruples about complying, and their ministers at once availed themselves of the king's indulgence. The banished preachers, and those who had retired to the Continent, came back to Scotland and resumed their functions; and none stood out except Renwick and his Cameronian followers. The Nonconformist ministers met at Edinburgh about the end of July, and drew up an address of thanks to his majesty; and the Presbyterians residing in the capital followed the example of their pastors. In these addresses they thanked the king for his clemency, and promised to maintain entire loyalty, both in their doctrine and practice, according to the known principles of their religion as contained in the Confession of Faith.

If the abolition of the penal laws, and the establishment of a full toleration, had been sanctioned by parliament, instead of being the mere act of the royal prerogative, the liberty now conferred would have been a great national blessing. Even as it was, the result was attended with much good, and might have taught all parties an important lesson, had they been capable of profiting by it. The Presbyterians were blamed by the Cameronians for accepting the indulgence, and their own writers afterwards felt some difficulty in excusing their conduct; but the course which they adopted was what almost any religious society under persecution would gladly have availed itself of.

Before the assembled Presbyterian ministers left Edinburgh, they drew up various prudent and useful rules, for the guidance of themselves and their congregations under the favourable circumstances in which they were now placed. Immediately afterwards, they took measures for encouraging the education of divinity students, and erected meeting-houses in many of the towns, and in several of the country parishes south of the Tay. They had but few preachers beyond that river; for, in the northern provinces, the inclinations of the people were decidedly in favour of Episcopacy.¹

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 416-437. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 171-173. Wodrow is anxious to make it appear that the address to the king was not the act of the Presbyterian ministers as a body. The document itself implies the reverse of

The Roman Catholic services had for some time been celebrated privately in a room in the palace of Holyrood, in terms of the king's directions already referred to ; but, in December, 1687, a royal warrant was issued for repairing and putting in order the abbey church, which was to be set apart for the Roman Catholic worship, and for the use of the Knights of the Thistle. Schools under the superintendence of Roman Catholic priests were likewise opened at Holyrood.

The toleration, as has been mentioned, did not extend to those who attended field conventicles. In February, 1688, James Renwick, one of the very few remaining ministers among the Cameronians, was apprehended. The events of his life illustrate the political and ecclesiastical position of the sect to which he belonged. He was born at Glencairn, in Nithsdale, in February, 1662. His parents were poor, but, by the assistance of friends, they were able to provide for his education. He studied at Edinburgh, and obtained a degree from the college there, but it was conferred privately, in consequence of his scruples about the oath of allegiance. After remaining for some time in communion with the indulged Presbyterian ministers, he withdrew from it, being persuaded that their compliances were sinful, and that he could not rightly join in religious ordinances with them. He attached himself to the secret societies, the members of which met together for prayer and conference. By them he was sent over to Holland to complete his education, and with the purpose also of obtaining ordination, which the Cameronians now scrupled to receive at the hands of the indulged ministers. After studying for several months at the University of Groningen, he was ordained by the classis of that place, the members dispensing with his subscription of the Dutch formularies, to which he had some objections, and allowing him to sign in their stead the Westminster Confession and Catechisms.

what he says. He would have made the matter much more clear had he followed his usual course in giving the names of those present, or of those who subscribed. He thinks that the parties to the address were justified in afterwards breaking their promises, because, when the king "was violently running into the utter extirpation of our Reformation, when palming upon them a pretended child of his, and openly overturning civil liberty, and when he had taken the guilt of all upon him by running away, the case altered mightily."

¹ Miscellany of the Wodrow Society, p. 458. Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 461, 462.

He returned to Scotland a few months afterwards. How his labours there were appreciated by his own party, may be judged from the words of his biographer, Alexander Shields. "In September, 1683," that writer says, "he commenced his ministerial work in Scotland, taking up the standard of the testimony of Christ, and for Christ, upon the same ground where it was fixed and had fallen, at the removal of the former renowned witnesses, Mr. Richard Cameron, and Mr. Donald Cargill, which, in the strength of his Master, he undertook to prosecute against such opposition from all hands, as seemed insuperable to sense and reason, and could not but have deterred the most daring, that had no other principle or end for their support or encouragement than humour or interest. An undertaking it was to him as difficult and desperate, as that of unus Athanasius contra totum orbem, or that of a child threshing down a mountain; which yet, against all the arrows of archers which shot at him and hated him, he was helped to achieve and attempt effectually, and overcome with no despicable success, while his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob."

The government endeavoured to apprehend Renwick, but, for some years, without success. He was at last seized at Edinburgh, and was examined before several members of the privy council. His biographer gives the following account of his examination:—"The chancellor asked him, what persuasion he was of. He answered, of the Protestant Presbyterian persuasion. He questioned again, how it came to pass that he, being a Presbyterian, did so much differ from other Presbyterians who accepted of his majesty's toleration, owned his authority, &c., and what he thought of them. He answered that he was a Presbyterian, and adhered to the old Presbyterian principles (which all were obliged by the Covenant to maintain), as were once generally professed by the Church and nation from the year 1640 to 1660, from which some had apostatized for a little liberty (they knew not how short), as yourselves (said he) have done for a little honour. The chancellor replied, and the rest applauded, that they believed these were the Presbyterian principles, and that all the Presbyterians would own them as well as he, if they had but the

courage. Some of them afterwards were heard to say, that he was of old Knox's principles, which in former times were approved, and thought tolerable then, but now made treason by the present law."

On his trial before the Court of Justiciary, he was asked whether he adhered to his former confessions and admitted all that was charged against him. He answered, referring to a formal expression in the indictment, "All, but where it is said, I have cast off all fear of God: that I deny; for it is because I fear to offend God, and violate his law, that I am here standing ready to be condemned." He was condemned to die, but received a reprieve of some days. Several of the bishops and clergy, and Sir John Dalrymple, the King's Advocate, endeavoured to prevail on him to make some sort of submission and thus save his life, but he declined to abandon his principles.

On the scaffold he refused the assistance either of the clergy or of the indulged ministers. According to Shields, the latter were much more hostile to him than the former; but on this point the assertion of the Cameronian writer must be received with caution. To the last he professed his adherence to those things for which he suffered—his disowning of the king's government, or, as he styled it, the usurpation and tyranny of the Duke of York; his preaching that it was unlawful to pay cess; and his teaching that it was lawful for people to carry arms in self-defence, while attending on Gospel ordinances: declaring that a testimony for them was worth many lives, and, if he had ten thousand, that he would think it little enough to lay them down in such a cause. He said that that day was the most joyful day he ever saw in the world, a day he had much longed for. He thanked the Lord who had honoured him with the crown of martyrdom—an honour that angels were not privileged with, being incapable of laying down their lives for his princely Master.

Renwick was executed on the seventeenth day of February. He was the last who suffered death in the cause of the Covenant.¹

James Atkins, Bishop of Galloway, died on the twenty-

¹ *Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. ii.—Life of James Renwick, pp. 1-37, 147-176. *Wodrow*, vol. iv. p. 445-454.

eighth of October, 1687, and was succeeded by Dr. John Gordon, one of the chaplains of the English Church at New York, who was consecrated at Glasgow by Archbishop Pater-son in the following year.

Murdoch Mackenzie, Bishop of Orkney, died at Kirkwall, in February, 1688, being then in the eighty-eighth year of his age. Dr. Bruce, the deprived Bishop of Dunkeld, was appointed to the see of Orkney. The king had probably discovered how impolitic the deprivation had been, and was now willing, as far as possible, to conciliate that prelate himself, and the friends of the hierarchy.

Hector Maclean, Bishop of Argyll, died in the end of the year 1687, or in the beginning of the following year. On the twenty-fourth of October, 1688, a *congé d'elire* was directed to the dean and chapter in favour of Dr. Alexander Monro, Principal of the College of Edinburgh. Dr. Monro was a clergyman of learning and piety, one of the most eminent of a race of divines which had now arisen, attached from principle and conviction to the doctrines and ritual of the Church of England, and anxious for their full establishment in Scotland. Before his consecration, probably before his election could take place, the reign of James was at an end.¹

When it became certain that the Prince of Orange meditated a descent on England, King James called up his Scottish army to assist in repelling the invasion. On the third of November, the bishops met at Edinburgh, and drew up an address to the king, in which they expressed their earnest wishes for the success of his majesty's arms, and for the discomfiture of his enemies. It soon, however, became known that the royal cause was unsuccessful. In the beginning of December, the two archbishops, and others of their brethren, granted a commission to the Bishops of Edinburgh and Orkney to repair to London, for the purpose of renewing their tenders of duty to the king, and of consulting with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the English prelates in regard to the alarming state of public affairs. These two bishops were

¹ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 99, 100, 152, 228, 229, 282, 283, 292. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 871. Fountainhall's *Historical Notices*, vol. ii. pp. 842, 868. Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 305.

selected as most agreeable to the English prelates, because one of them had suffered for his opposition to the exercise of the royal prerogative, and the other was not a lord of parliament at the time when the question of toleration was before the estates. Some delay took place in consequence of the illness of the Bishop of Orkney, and finally Bishop Rose had to proceed without his colleague. When he reached London, he found that James had abandoned his kingdom, and had retired to France.¹

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 468, 469. Collection of Letters to Archbishop Sancroft, p. 89-91. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 65, 66. The address of the Scottish bishops to King James has been severely censured by various writers. Its professions of loyalty were not stronger than those contained in the address of the Presbyterian ministers in July, 1687; and they were sincere.

CHAPTER LXX.

FROM THE FLIGHT OF KING JAMES IN DECEMBER, 1688, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN JUNE, 1690.

Riot at Edinburgh—The western clergy driven out by the Cameronians—Address by the Presbyterian ministers to the Prince of Orange—Exertions of Bishop Rose at London—His conversation with Bishop Compton—His interview with the Prince of Orange—Meeting of the Estates in Scotland—The Claim of Right—The crown conferred on William and Mary—Deprivation of many of the Clergy—The Bishops decline to acknowledge the new Sovereigns—Address by the Clergy of Aberdeen to the Estates—Pre-lacy abolished—Ratification of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and establishment of the Presbyterian form of Church Government—Abolition of Patronage.

WHEN it became known at Edinburgh that the king's cause was failing, the populace rose in tumult, and, assisted by the city trainbands, broke into the palace of Holyrood, and rifled the abbey church and schools, destroying the ornaments and furniture. The council made some feeble attempts to check these excesses, but, no longer supported by the regular troops, and uncertain, from the interruption of the communications with England, of the course of events in the South, they were themselves disheartened, and divided in opinion. The chancellor having fled, they published a proclamation on the twenty-fourth of December, in which, professing to share the general apprehension of a rising of the Papists, and of an invasion from Ireland, they called on his majesty's Protestant subjects to put themselves in a posture of defence.¹

Scenes of similar violence took place in the West, and there, as was to be expected, it was against the clergy of the established Church that the popular feeling was directed. Hardly any class of persons occupied a more unfortunate position than the parochial ministers of the south-western

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 470-476. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 344.

counties in the reigns of Charles the Second and his brother. There were many among them of the most unexceptionable character, and several were distinguished both for their virtues and for their attainments; but these suffered for the faults of a few of their brethren, and were involved in the common accusations made against the "curates." They were all denounced as the instigators of measures in which few took any direct part, and of which many disapproved, while they were year after year the objects of a persecution as intolerant and uncharitable, though not as cruel, as that which the government directed against the Nonconformists. Their houses were frequently attacked, and themselves and their families exposed to injuries and insults of all kinds; or, if they escaped from these, they were continually suffering from the railing tongues and slanderous writings of the Covenanters. It is not to be wondered that many of the clergy, losing heart under such trials, abandoned their benefices and their country, and sought refuge in England and Ireland.

It was on Christmas-day that the rising of the western Cameronians began. Armed bodies of insurgents traversed the country, took possession of the churches, and expelled the incumbents from their manses, warning them not to appear in their own parishes again. With men whose passions were inflamed by the fanaticism of their sect, and the remembrance of many cruel wrongs, such scenes could not take place without outrages; and, at that season of the year, the ministers and their wives and children, who were driven from their homes to seek shelter where they best might find it in other districts, must have been exposed to severe sufferings. But it is to the credit of the peasantry that no life was intentionally taken; perhaps, also, that fact speaks well for the incumbents themselves. Some time afterwards, the insurgents threatened to march on the capital, in order to expel the clergy there, but the members of the College of Justice assembled in arms, and prevented their design.¹

¹ The proceedings of the Cameronians are related in two works published at London in 1690, the one entitled "An Account of the present Persecution of the Church in Scotland;" the other "The Case of the present afflicted Clergy of Scotland truly represented." See also Burnet, vol. iii. p. 344; and Shields' *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, pp. 371, 375, 376, 379. In regard to the manner in which the western clergy were treated during the establishment of Epis-

In January, 1689, the Presbyterian ministers met at Edinburgh, and agreed on an address to the Prince of Orange, in which they thanked his highness for his exertions in behalf of the Reformed religion, complained of the evils to which they had been subjected by the establishment of Prelacy, and entreated him to use his endeavours to restore the Presbyterian form of church government as the best remedy against Popery and slavery. They alluded to their taking the benefit of the king's indulgence, and to their address in consequence in the summer of 1687, and expressed a hope that their conduct would meet with a favourable construction, because they were not to be hindered from making use of what in itself was lawful and good, on account of the bad intentions of others, and because in that address they referred to their known principles as contained in the Confession of Faith; adding that accordingly they had ever been opposed to the projects of dispensing with or taking off the penal laws against the Papists.¹ It would have shown more sincerity if the ministers had admitted that their former language to King James could hardly be reconciled with what they now used to the prince, and if they had avoided the extraordinary reference to the Confession of Faith as explaining the real import of those professions of loyalty which James understood in their plain, obvious sense.

In the meantime, Bishop Rose was using his endeavours at London to preserve the established form of church government in Scotland. The day after his arrival, he waited on Archbishop Sancroft, who said that matters were very dark, and that the English prelates hardly knew what to do for themselves, still less how to advise others. He then called on Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, with whom he was personally acquainted; but from him he experienced little sympathy. The following week, Bishop Rose again repaired to Lambeth, and informed the primate of what had passed between himself and Bishop Lloyd. Sancroft smiled, and said that the Bishop of St. Asaph was a good man but an angry man. He observed, as before, that all was dark, and requested Bishop Rose to

copacy, see Burnet's *Vindication of the Church and State of Scotland*, pp. 148, 149, 153, 154.

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 481, 482.

come to him from time to time, promising, if anything occurred, that he would let him know.

The perplexities and distress of the Bishop of Edinburgh were increased by his receiving intelligence of the Cameronian outrages in Scotland. He waited on Dr. Gilbert Burnet, who had accompanied the prince from Holland, and entreated him to use his influence with his highness to stop the persecution of the clergy, but Burnet answered that he did not meddle with Scottish affairs. He made a similar application, and with as little success, to Dr. Compton, Bishop of London. That prelate, however, and several of the Scottish peers, advised him to present an address to the prince on the subject of the persecution. He asked whether such an address was likely to be acceptable if it did not congratulate the prince on his expedition; and, on their mentioning that this was absolutely necessary, he answered that he had no such instructions from his constituents, and that he was far from being clear, in his own mind, as to the lawfulness of these terms. The only other prelate he saw was Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, who gave all the assistance in his power to the Scottish commissioner.

On the day that the vote of abdication passed in the English convention, Bishop Rose was again at Lambeth, but he has left no account of what passed between him and the primate. Finding that nothing further remained to be done, he was preparing to return to Scotland, when he found that he could not do so safely without a pass from the prince. With the primate's concurrence he resolved to wait upon William, and applied to the Bishop of London to introduce him. Dr. Compton readily undertook to bring the bishop, along with Sir George Mackenzie who proposed to accompany him, into the prince's presence. Sir George suggested that the Scottish nobility and gentry then in London should wait upon the prince, and intercede for the clergy; but the Bishop of London, after communicating with William, mentioned that he could not allow the friends of the hierarchy to resort to him in a body, lest the Presbyterians should take offence, and that for a similar reason he would not permit that party to come to him in large numbers. Dr. Compton, thereupon directing his discourse to Bishop Rose, said, "My lord, you see that the

king having thrown himself upon the water must keep himself swimming with one hand. The Presbyterians have joined him closely and offered to support him, and therefore he cannot cast them off unless he could see how otherways he can be served. And the king bids me tell you that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland, for, while there, he was made believe that Scotland generally all over was Presbyterian, but now he sees that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for Episcopacy, and it is the trading and inferior sort that are for Presbytery; wherefore, he bids me tell you, that if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support the Church and order, and throw off the Presbyterians." The bishop answered, "My lord, I cannot but humbly thank the prince for this frankness and offer; but withal I must tell your lordship that, when I came from Scotland, neither my brethren nor I apprehended any such revolution as I have now seen in England; and therefore I neither was nor could be instructed by them what answer to make to the prince's offer; and therefore what I say is not in their name, but only my private opinion, which is, that I truly think they will not serve the prince so as he is served in England, that is, (as I take it,) to make him their king, or give their suffrage for his being king. And though as to this matter I can say nothing in their name, and as from them, yet for myself I must say that, rather than do so, I will abandon all the interest that either I have or may expect to have in Britain." Bishop Compton approved of his openness and ingenuousness, remarking that all the time Bishop Rose had been in London he had not waited on the king, nor had any of the Scottish bishops sent an address to him. "So," he added, "the king must be excused for standing by the Presbyterians."

On that occasion Bishop Rose had no opportunity of speaking to the prince, but, on the following day, he was introduced by Dr. Compton at Whitehall. William, leaving the persons with whom he was conversing, advanced a few steps to meet him, and began the conversation. "My lord," he said, "are you going for Scotland?" The bishop answered, "Yes Sir, if you have any commands for me." The prince replied, "I

hope you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England." The bishop was somewhat perplexed, but answered, "Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience, shall allow me." The prince immediately turned away without speaking another word. Bishop Rose was thus prevented from alluding to the ejected clergy, and soon afterwards returned to Scotland.¹

While Bishop Rose was in London, another attempt was made to obtain the prince's interposition on behalf of the Scottish clergy. Dr. Scott, Dean of Glasgow, himself ejected from his benefice at Hamilton, was the bearer of a petition to William from Archbishop Paterson and the incumbents of the western parts of his diocese, in which they entreated for protection. William caused a proclamation to be issued forbidding all disturbances and violence; but the Cameronians paid no respect to it. The very Sunday on which it was published at Glasgow, they attacked the congregation assembled for divine worship in the cathedral, and, when Dr. Fall, Principal of the College, made a representation on the subject to William, the prince simply referred him to the convention which was soon to meet.²

¹ The interesting particulars concerning the proceedings of Bishop Rose at London are to be found in a letter written by him to Bishop Campbell, in October, 1713, and printed by Keith (*Historical Catalogue*, p. 65-71), from the original, now among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, marked No. C. 7, in the Catalogue. The accuracy and veracity of Bishop Rose in regard to what came under his observation may be entirely relied on. His own words are, "Whether what the Bishop of London delivered as from the prince was so or not, I cannot certainly say, but I think his lordship's word was good enough for that; or whether the prince would have stood by his promise of casting off the Presbyterians, and protecting us, in case we had come into his interests, I will not determine, though this seems the most probable unto me and that for these reasons:—he had the Presbyterians sure on his side, both from inclination and interest, many of them having come over with him, and the rest of them having appeared so warmly that with no good grace imaginable could they return to King James's interest; next, by gaining us, he might presume to gain the Episcopal nobility and gentry, which he saw was a great party, and consequently that King James would be deprived of his principal support; then he saw what a hardship it would be upon the Church of England, and of what bad consequence, to see Episcopacy ruined in Scotland, who no doubt would have vigorously interposed for us, if we, by our carriage, could have been brought to justify their measures."

² *Collection of Letters to Archbishop Sancroft*, p. 105. Burnet, vol. iv. p. 40. Skinner, vol. ii. pp. 520, 521.

The estates assembled at Edinburgh on the fourteenth of March, 1689. They were convened by circular letters issued by the Prince of Orange, at the request of a considerable number of the nobility and gentry who had waited upon him at London. The two archbishops, the Bishop of Edinburgh, and six other prelates, were present. The Duke of Hamilton, the same nobleman who had been consulted on Scottish ecclesiastical measures by King Charles the Second immediately after the Restoration, was chosen president by a small majority over the Marquis of Atholl, who was supported by the friends of James. The convention met under circumstances of danger and excitement, as well as of the utmost national importance. The castle was held for the king by a garrison under the command of the Duke of Gordon, and the town was full of armed Cameronians from the West. Had the royalists acted with union and vigour, they might have secured a majority, but there was no proper understanding among them. Many of their number, doubtful of the legality of the meeting, had taken no part in the elections; several of the bishops were never present; and, of those who came at first, some, including the primate, soon ceased to attend. The Duke of Hamilton had in vain endeavoured to prevail on the primate and the Bishop of Edinburgh to abandon the interests of James, assuring them that he had it in special charge from William, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of Episcopacy if the bishops could be induced to support him, and entreating them to follow the example of the Church of England.

The division on the election of a president shewed which side could rely on a majority. Graham of Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, proposed to the royalists to hold a rival meeting at Stirling; and, when he failed in persuading some of the nobility to take this step, he left the convention. From that time the cause of James was hopeless with the estates. On the fourth of April, they declared that he had forfeited the crown, and that the throne was vacant. On the eleventh, they agreed to offer the crown of Scotland to the English sovereigns, William and Mary, and drew up a paper, called the Claim of Right, in which, among other points, they declared that "Prelacy and superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is, and hath been, a great and unsupportable griev-

ance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation, they having been reformed from Popery by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished." The other portions of the Claim of Right were agreed to without a division, but this clause was carried only by a majority. Two days afterwards, the convention enjoined all ministers of the Gospel to pray for William and Mary, as King and Queen of Scotland, and to read a proclamation to that effect—those in Edinburgh on the day following, being Sunday the fourteenth, all others south of the Tay on the twenty-first, and those north of that river on the twenty-eighth—under the pain of being deprived of their benefices.

The English sovereigns accepted the Scottish crown, but were not called upon in the meantime to bind themselves to the conditions contained in the Claim of Right. They took the coronation oath, in a form prescribed by the estates, by which they swore to maintain the true religion then received in Scotland. The last clause of the oath obliged the sovereign to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, who should be convicted by the true Church of God. William objected to this as leading to persecution, until he was assured that it was a mere matter of form.¹

The enactment of the thirteenth of April, in regard to the reading of the proclamation and the praying for William and Mary, was enforced with great severity. Even before the convention rose, three clergymen in Edinburgh—Dr. Strachan, Andrew Cant, and John M'Queen—were deposed by an act of the estates. The Presbyterian ministers, having no objection to the points enjoined, complied at once, though the order was issued by a secular court, whose jurisdiction in such a matter they might at another time have been disposed to reject. None of the established clergy had scruples as to the general question of the authority of the civil power to give directions in questions of this nature, but most of them conscientiously believed that James was still their rightful sovereign. Those who refused compliance were deprived, wherever evidence could be found against them, but, with a few exceptions, it

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 3-49. Keith's Catalogue, p. 72. Burton's History of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 11-13, 186.

was only in the southern parts of the kingdom that the orders of the government could at first be carried out. They were executed for some time by a committee of the estates, and afterwards by the privy council. The most active agent in the matter was the Earl of Crawford, a nobleman of the old Covenanting principles, whose zeal was not lessened by the circumstance that his family had at one time been enriched by the spoils of the Church. Among the deprived clergy was James Aird, minister at Torryburn, the intimate friend of Archbishop Leighton. He was now an old man, and his case, from the circumstances attending it, and from his own high character, excited particular attention.¹

The estates, after an adjournment of some weeks, again sat down on the fifth of June. They were now formally recognized as a parliament by the new sovereigns, and their former president, the Duke of Hamilton, was the royal commissioner. Notwithstanding the clause in the Claim of Right, the lords of the clergy had still a legal right to take their seats, if they had been prepared to acknowledge William and Mary; but they had all resolved to maintain their allegiance to James, and to abide the consequences. However it might have been with others, the prelates could not consistently have adopted a different course. They had been foremost in professions of loyalty to James; they had supported him during the rebellion of Argyll, had prayed for his success when first threatened by the Prince of Orange, and had submitted to the arbitrary exercise of the royal prerogative, even when directed against their own order. Had they now abandoned him in his distress, and acquiesced in the new government, they might have preserved the hierarchy, but they would have violated every principle of honour and duty. The conscientious belief that they were bound by the oaths which they had already taken, and by their former proceedings, now ruled their course of action. They may have supposed that another revolution was

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 68, and appendix, pp. 6, 7, 9, 14, 17, 18, 24, 27, 31. Burton, vol. i. pp. 187, 188. Leven and Melville Papers, pp. 319, 327. Account of the Persecution of the Church in Scotland, p. 37. The Earl of Crawford, in a letter written to Lord Melville, on the fourth of December, 1690, says, "The bishoprics which my father had right to were many; but those he was possessed of were only Caithness, Ross, Murray, Dunkeld, and Dunblane." (Leven and Melville Papers, p. 580.)

likely to take place, and that King James would be restored to his throne ; but this could not have been the sole or the chief reason for their conduct.

While the prelates were thus prevented from maintaining the cause of Episcopacy in parliament, it was not to be expected that the lay lords, or the barons, or the burgesses, who had taken the oaths, would be very zealous in its support. Few members, except among the burgesses, were on religious grounds devoted to Presbyterianism. Many of them were indifferent as to forms of ecclesiastical government, and a considerable number would have preferred Episcopacy. But the overthrow of the hierarchy was thought to be necessary on political grounds, and they had little hesitation in proceeding to effect it.

On the second of July, the draft of an act was brought in by the Earl of Annandale for the abolition of Prelacy, and of all superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters, reserving to their majesties to settle the Presbyterian government in the way most agreeable to the inclinations of the people and the word of God. The royal commissioner asked leave to see and consider the draft. Immediately after this, the Earl of Kintore presented an address from James Gordon, Parson of Banchory-Devenick, and John Barclay, minister at Cruden, who were commissioned to that effect by the Synod of Aberdeen. In this address, they stated their deep sense of the divided state of the Church ; referred to the testimony given by their synod in late years against Popery, and their general concurrence in praying for King William as the great instrument of their deliverance ; and expressed an earnest desire for a union with all their Protestant brethren who differed from them only in matters of church government. They set forth that it had been the practice of all Christian Churches to meet in national synods for rectifying disorders, removing scandals, and healing breaches ; and humbly supplicated the commissioner, and the great court of parliament, that a free general assembly, for which they had long been anxious, should be called at such time and place as the king's majesty and the parliament should think fit, and suggested that, before its meeting, some judicious ministers of different opinions as to questions of church government might be appointed to

consider the matters in dispute, and prepare overtures for an accommodation, and the peace of the Church. The Duke of Hamilton was disposed to listen favourably to the Aberdeen address; and the Presbyterians were much alarmed, knowing that in a national synod, such as that proposed, the clergy would have a great majority over their own ministers. It is very doubtful whether the proposal, if adopted, would have led to any satisfactory arrangement; but all chances of an accommodation were taken away by the statute which soon afterwards received the sanction of the estates.

On the following day, the draft of the act for the abolition of Prelacy was again read, and it was agreed to leave out the word "Presbyterian," in that part which related to the subsequent settlement of the church government. Two days afterwards, it was also agreed that the settlement was to be in the way most agreeable to the inclinations of the people, nothing being said of the word of God; and in this shape the act was passed on the twenty-second of July. The new statute was founded on the clause in the Claim of Right already quoted. Prelacy, and all superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters, were abolished, and the acts in favour of Episcopacy in the reign of Charles the Second, and all other acts inconsistent with the statute now passed, were rescinded; and it was declared that the king and queen, with consent of parliament, would settle in the Scottish kingdom that church government which was most agreeable to the inclinations of the people.

During this session of parliament, various proposals were made for the re-establishment of Presbyterianism, and for the restoration of the survivors of such ministers as had been deprived for their opposition to Prelacy. A petition was also presented from several ministers who had been deprived for not taking the Test of 1681, in which they asked to be restored to their benefices, and stated their readiness to pray for the king and queen, to submit to the Presbyterian government, and to join in purging the Church of all scandalous, insufficient, and immoral ministers. Nothing was finally settled in regard to these points, and, when the estates rose, no form of ecclesiastical government was in existence as a legal establishment; but, by a royal letter addressed to the privy council, the

ministers of the Gospel were allowed to continue and proceed in their ordinary meetings—kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and synods—till such time as the government of the Church might be further established by act of parliament, and of the general assembly.¹

Dr. William Annand, Dean of Edinburgh, died on the thirteenth of June. Before his departure, he received the Eucharist, according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer, from Dr. Monro, Bishop-nominate of Argyll, assisted by Dr. Strachan; several clergymen and laymen communicating at the same time. The dying presbyter referred with tears to the state of ecclesiastical affairs, saying that he never thought to have outlived the Church of Scotland, but that he hoped others would see its restoration.²

While the parliament was engaged in overturning the established form of church government, and in passing laws for the better security of the new dynasty, its labours were well-nigh rendered vain by the genius and daring courage of one man. Dundee, faithful to the master whom so many had forsaken, had retired from the convention; but it was for the purpose of rallying the northern clans in support of King James. The Highlanders gathered round a leader in whom they had entire confidence; and, in order to check the rising, a body of regular troops was despatched by the government, under the command of General Mackay, a veteran officer, who had accompanied the prince from Holland. The armies met at Killiecrankie on the twenty-seventh of July. William's soldiers were utterly routed; but Dundee was slain, and, with the fall of their heroic chief, the cause of the Scottish royalists became hopeless.

The parliament re-assembled on the fifteenth of April, 1690. The Duke of Hamilton no longer held the office of commissioner, that dignity having been conferred on Lord Melville, secretary of state, a zealous Presbyterian, who had been in exile during the late reign. On the twenty-fifth of April, the

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. pp. 98, 104, and appendix, pp. 129, 138. Leven and Melville Papers, pp. 136, 138, 217. There is a copy of the Aberdeen address among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, No. P. 15, of the Catalogue.

² Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 259.

act of 1669, which declared the supremacy of the crown over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical, was repealed. Immediately afterwards, a statute was passed for restoring to their benefices the ministers who had been deprived since the first of January, 1661, for not conforming to Prelacy; and the present incumbents were ordered to remove from their manse and glebes before Whitsunday ensuing. Such was the brief warning given to the clergy formerly established by law, and no difference whatever was made between those who had, and those who had not, taken the oaths to William and Mary.

The beginning of a new establishment having thus been made by supplying a body of ministers about sixty in number, its religious belief was next settled by an act approving of the Confession of Faith agreed to by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. This act was passed on the twenty-sixth of May, and, on the seventh of June, the king and queen, and the three estates of the peers, barons, and burgeses, ratified and established the Confession of Westminster, and established the Presbyterian form of church government and discipline, viz., the government of the Church by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies, as formerly recognized by the statute of 1592, except in regard to patronage, the consideration of which was reserved; it being declared that the church government was to be exercised by those Presbyterian ministers who had been deprived since the year 1661, and were now restored, and by such ministers and elders as they had admitted, or might admit. And for carrying out these objects, their majesties appointed the first general assembly to be held at Edinburgh, on the third Tuesday of October next to come. All churches were declared vacant, which had been deserted by their ministers, or from which the ministers had been removed, before the thirteenth of April, 1689, or whose ministers since that date had been deprived for not obeying the proclamation as to praying for the king and queen; and the Presbyterian ministers exercising their functions within such parishes were to continue there, until the Church now established should take order as to the same. The ministers and elders, in whom the government of the Church was now vested, were allowed to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scan-

dalous, and erroneous ministers, by due course of ecclesiastical process; and all ministers, summoned before them, who should not appear, or who should be found guilty and be thereupon suspended or deposed, were ipso facto to be suspended from or deprived of their benefices.

Some other acts which were passed during this session may also be mentioned. By one of these it was declared that the principals, professors, regents, and masters, holding office in any university, college, or school, should subscribe the Confession of Faith, and the oath of allegiance to their majesties; and a commission was named, with authority to visit these institutions, and to purge out all erroneous and scandalous persons holding office in the same, and all who should refuse to submit to the government now established in Church and State. The question of patronage, the consideration of which had been reserved, was settled by another statute. The power of patrons to nominate to ecclesiastical benefices was taken away, on a certain compensation being made to them: and it was provided that, in time coming, on a vacancy taking place, the heritors of the parish, being Protestants, and the elders, were to propose a person to the congregation for their approval, and, if they disapproved, those who did so were to give in their reasons to the presbytery, by whom the matter was to be judged and settled. In regard to royal burghs, it was specially provided that the calling of ministers should be vested in the magistrates, town council, and kirk-session. On the same day on which the act regarding patronage was passed, the Christmas recess of the courts of law was declared to be an interruption of justice, and was therefore taken away.¹

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. pp. 106, 111, 117-134, 163, 164, 196-199, and appendix. p. 148. It is asserted by some writers that, during this session of parliament, the draft of an act was brought in by the Earl of Linlithgow for toleration to those of the Episcopal persuasion to worship God after their own manner, and particularly, to those who were so inclined, to use the English Liturgy. The minutes of parliament take no notice of this. It had been the desire of King William that the adherents of Episcopacy, who would not conform to the new establishment, should receive the same indulgence which was given to Presbyterians in England, on their taking the oath of allegiance; but, in this, as well as in other respects, Melville disregarded his master's wishes, though he kept within the letter of his instructions: compare the king's instructions to Melville, 25th February, 1690, with his remarks of the 22nd of May, in the Leven and Melville Papers, pp. 414, 415, 436-438. The

The acts of this parliament, so far as the clergy were concerned, were more arbitrary and severe than the similar proceedings in regard to the Presbyterian ministers which received the sanction of the estates on the Restoration of Charles the Second. Some attempts were made to procure an acknowledgment of the rights of the clergy who had been ejected by the Cameronians, till they should be removed in the course of law, and to obtain a share in the ecclesiastical government for all ministers who were willing to acknowledge the new sovereigns. The refusal of the former request was a manifest injustice ; but compliance in the latter respect would have been inconsistent with the ratification of Presbyterianism, and of no advantage to the conscientious adherents of Episcopacy. The ecclesiastical system now established was entirely the act of the secular power, just as the restoration of the hierarchy thirty years before had been ; and it was carried through on the principle of being that which was most in accordance with the wishes of the people. There was one marked difference between the Presbyterianism set up at this time, and that which existed during the reign of Charles the First. The National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant formed no part of it. Not only the Cameronians, who rejected the new settlement altogether, but the most zealous of those who did not hesitate to concur in it, lamented the utter disregard of what they viewed as the chief glory and the great triumph of their party. But the statesmen who shewed their readiness to gratify them in other points made no concession as to this. William would never have consented to give his sanction to what would have alienated from him even the most moderate supporters of the hierarchy in England ; and his political counsellors were not prepared to re-impose on themselves and on the Scottish nation what formerly had been the cause of so much misery and disgrace.

course adopted by the commissioner was almost literally that which had been recommended the year before by Lord Crawford, the head of the Presbyterian party. (*Ibid.* p. 172.)

CHAPTER LXXI.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN JUNE, TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY VISITATION OF THE UNIVERSITIES IN OCTOBER, 1690.

Position of ecclesiastical affairs after the Revolution—Proceedings of the Bishops—Account of the deprived Prelates—Opinions of the Parochial Clergy—Many of them disposed to submit to the Civil Government—Opinion of the people in regard to Episcopacy and Presbyterianism—Parliamentary visitation of the Universities—Visitation of St. Andrews—Visitation of Glasgow—Visitation of Edinburgh—Charge against Dr. Monro of using the Book of Common Prayer—Visitation of Aberdeen.

EPISCOPACY had once more ceased to be the national establishment, and Presbyterianism was set up in its place. In the state of political parties which had arisen at the Revolution, hardly any other result was to be expected. William himself was inclined to preserve the former system, if he could have prevailed on the members of the hierarchy to follow the example of the English prelates; but, when all the bishops refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, he consented to establish Presbyterianism. It was his wish, however, that a full toleration should be granted to those who were prepared to take the oaths, and even that the Episcopal clergy should be allowed, on certain conditions, to remain within the establishment. Various schemes of comprehension were suggested, and found zealous advocates in Dr. Burnet, now Bishop of Salisbury, and in other politicians both in England and Scotland, who were indifferent regarding the form of ecclesiastical government, or who feared that the Presbyterian supremacy might again become formidable to the state. Some of the clergy were willing to take the benefit of such proposals, and to acknowledge the new form of church government, on condition of being allowed to retain their benefices. But all arrangements of that description were

viewed by the great majority of the clergy as an unworthy sacrifice of principle, and were opposed by the Presbyterians as an improper interference with the privileges now enjoyed by themselves.

The course of events had led to what, till this time, had hardly been formally acknowledged—an entire ecclesiastical separation between the supporters of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. During the contentions in the reign of James the Sixth, no such separation had taken place. After the Glasgow assembly of 1638, the greater number of the deposed Episcopal clergy joined in the worship of the Presbyterian establishment, and, at the Restoration, most of the Presbyterians, and the leading persons among their ministers, continued to attend the parish churches. The rise of the extreme party, afterwards known as Cameronians, the indulgence in the reign of Charles, and the toleration in that of James, tended to produce a different state of matters; and, at the Revolution, the separation was complete. No attempt was made by the dominant religious body to prevent this result. Its policy was very different from that pursued by the civil government at the Restoration. Then, it was the object to promote uniformity by making few changes, except in church government; by raising Presbyterians to the chief dignities in the hierarchy; and by admitting all who were willing to conform to the system established by law. Now, the parties intrusted with the control of the new establishment endeavoured to prevent any of the Episcopal clergy from being associated with themselves, and reverted to the forms of Presbyterianism, not as they were before the great rebellion, but, so far as the civil government would allow, as they existed in the times of the Covenant.

It was well for both ecclesiastical bodies that the attempts which were made to unite those whose principles were now so different were unsuccessful. To the disestablished Church in particular the change that took place at the Revolution was beneficial in many respects, though few of her members could probably see at the time that such was the case. The loss of temporal power, and the poverty and persecution following upon it, led eventually to blessings which never could have been obtained while she was in bondage to the state, and was made responsible, in popular estimation, for all the acts of an

arbitrary government. That those blessings were still delayed for years was owing partly to circumstances which were beyond the control of the Church, partly to the difficulty which her rulers had in learning to adapt themselves, and the people committed to their charge, to the altered condition in which they were placed. Had the bishops understood their real position, and their true duties—while acting themselves, and allowing others to act, in political matters, according to their conscientious opinions, they would, in matters ecclesiastical, have recognised no secular differences, and have thrown themselves for support on the whole body of the clergy and people who acknowledged the authority of Episcopacy. But it is hardly reasonable to blame them for not at once adopting a mode of proceeding so different from any which they had hitherto been accustomed to contemplate.

Before continuing the narrative of the events which followed the parliamentary sanction of Presbyterianism, a brief account may be given of the general position of the clergy and the laity of the disestablished Church, and of the fortunes of the individual prelates.

From the time that the convention of 1689 was changed into a parliament, we hear little of the proceedings of the bishops. The statute abolishing Prelacy deprived them of their rank and temporalities, leaving them, so far as the state was concerned, utterly destitute. Their situation in this respect differed from that of the parochial clergy, who, with the exception of those driven out by the Cameronians, could only be deprived one by one, and after legal formalities of some sort. The prelates made no attempt to defend their order, and seemed anxious to avoid all public notice. Their seclusion was so complete during the summer of 1689, that Dundee, in writing to Lord Melfort, mentioned that he did not know where they were, or how to find out the primate, and spoke of them as being “now the kirk invisible.” When the jealousy of the government abated after the death of Dundee, they were no longer under the necessity of maintaining such privacy. In December, Lord Crawford complained to Melville, that they continued to subscribe by their titles, that they ordained ministers singly, and that they gave warrants for private marriages. It thus appears that they never abandoned their duty of conferring

ordination ; but it is certain that they made no attempt to keep up a regular system of diocesan government, or even to reside within their dioceses, and that the clergy began, in consequence, to act as if they were independent of their proper spiritual superiors, and as if the members of the episcopate were only a higher order, to be revered as a body having the sole power of ordination, not each to be obeyed as possessing jurisdiction within an appointed district.¹

Archbishop Ross might have filled the primatial office respectably in quiet times ; but he was unequal to the difficulties which he had to encounter, and, so far as appears, made no adequate attempt to overcome them. He was respected, however, as the head of the Church, and his primatial and metropolitan dignity became even more important, from the circumstance that the prelates had almost ceased to discharge their diocesan functions. He died at Edinburgh on the thirteenth of June, 1704.²

Archbishop Paterson was a man of ability and resolution, and was sufficiently active, though more as a partizan of the exiled sovereign, than as a ruler of the Church. He assisted at one important ecclesiastical measure which will afterwards be mentioned, but his conduct after the Revolution was hardly sufficient to make men forget the doubtful proceedings of his earlier years. He died on the ninth of December, 1708.³

The date of the decease of John Hamilton, Bishop of Dunkeld, is not recorded. It is asserted by Keith that at the time of his death he was “one of the ministers of Edinburgh and sub-dean of his majesty’s chapel royal.” If this statement be correct, and to be received in its obvious meaning, he must have taken the oath of allegiance to King William ; and there is nothing in his character to make such compliance unlikely. Though Burnet’s severe remarks upon him should be disregarded, his readiness to accept a see vacated by the arbitrary deprivation of his predecessor shews that his principles were not of a very strict character.⁴

George Haliburton, Bishop of Aberdeen, died at his own

¹ See Dundee’s Letters, p. 48 ; and Leven and Melville Papers, p. 355.

² Keith’s Catalogue, p. 43. Lyon’s History of S. Andrews, vol. ii. p. 113.

³ Keith’s Catalogue, p. 270.

⁴ Keith’s Catalogue, p. 100. See Burnet, vol. iii. p. 110.

house near Cupar-Angus, on the twenty-ninth of September, 1715. It is probable that he retired thither soon after the Revolution, but he continued to maintain a certain degree of connection with his diocese, and to ordain clergy for it.¹

William Hay, Bishop of Murray, left his cathedral city, but fixed his residence at Inverness, within his own diocese. He is described as a person of mild and gentle temper, who disapproved alike of the penal laws against the Papists, and of the severe measures against the Presbyterians. He died on the ninth of March, 1707.²

Dr. Bruce, Bishop of Orkney, the strenuous supporter of the penal laws, died in March, 1700. James Ramsay, Bishop of Ross, the bold and consistent advocate of ecclesiastical reform and political moderation, the friend alike of Archbishop Burnet and of Archbishop Leighton, died at Edinburgh, in great poverty, on the twenty-second of October, 1696. Andrew Wood, Bishop of Caithness, died at Dunbar, where he had formerly been minister, in 1695.³

Dr. Drummond, Bishop of Brechin, after his deprivation resided generally at Slains Castle, with the Earl of Errol. He died in the year 1695. Robert Douglas, Bishop of Dunblane, died at Dundee, on the twenty-second day of September, 1716, being then in the ninety-second year of his age.⁴

Dr. Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, accompanied King James to Ireland, and afterwards to France. He resided for some

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 134. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 595.

² Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. ii. p. 297. In the interesting account of a journey made in the autumn of 1697 by Robert Barclay, son of the Apologist, and three other Quakers, from Aberdeen to the Highlands, as far as the residence of Cameron of Lochiel, with whose family the Barclays were connected by marriage, it is related that one of the Friends visited at Inverness the "old Bishop of Murray, called Hay, who was sore diseased in his body by a palsy." (Jaffray's Diary, p. 367.)

³ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 204, 218, 229. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 595.

⁴ Keith's Catalogue, pp. 169, 183. Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 375. In a letter written by Bishop Douglas to the Earl of Errol, on the twenty-sixth of August, 1701, in answer to a communication from the earl, recommending a student of divinity for ordination, the bishop mentions that he would be willing to do what was in his power for the sake of a nobleman who had shewn kindness to the persecuted orthodox clergy, but that no one could be preferred to sacred orders, until he had first been examined by some godly orthodox ministers, as to his good conversation and literature. (Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. ii. p. 301.)

time at St. Germain's, where he read the service of the English Church in his own house to the Protestant adherents of the exiled family. Afterwards, however, he joined the Church of Rome, and received the minor orders in that communion. He had a pension from the Pope, and began a work in answer to Courayer's Defence of the English ordinations. He died at Rome in 1726, having survived all the rest of the deprived bishops.¹

The name of Archibald Graham, Bishop of the Isles, scarcely appears in our ecclesiastical history, except in connection with his appointment to the see. The time of his decease is unknown, but it is certain that he survived the accession of Queen Anne.²

It will be unnecessary to refer here particularly to Dr. Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, and to Dr. Monro, Bishop-nominate of Argyll, as the former will frequently be mentioned in the course of the narrative, and the circumstances connected with the ejection of the latter from his academical office will immediately be related; but a few words may be added regarding Dr. Cairncross, who had been deprived of the archbishopric of Glasgow in the reign of James. That prelate had no objections to the oath of allegiance to William and Mary; and he was, through the influence of Bishop Burnet, appointed in the year 1693 to the vacant Irish diocese of Raphoe, a see which on several occasions had been held by Scottish ecclesiastics. Bishop Cairncross died in 1701. He was a liberal benefactor to a fund raised for the relief of the suffering clergy in Scotland, and by his will left the tenth part of his whole effects for the same object.³

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 283. Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, pp. 305, 306. The writer of the contemporary notice in the Collections speaks severely of Bishop Gordon's general character, and mentions that his fragment against Courayer gives "but a low opinion of his humility, charity, or politeness." Some allowance, however, must be made for the indignation naturally excited by the apostasy of a bishop.

² There is a document dated in April, 1702, bearing the signature of Archibald, Bishop of the Isles, among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, No. E. 4, of the Catalogue.

³ Mant's History of the Church of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 34-37. Mant states that in the correspondence of Archbishop King there are various letters to Bishop Cairncross, whom, with reference to his former dignity, Dr. King always addresses as "your grace."

The Revolution had almost immediately caused the ejection of a large number of the parochial ministers, and rendered precarious the possession which the others still retained of their benefices. A great change had taken place in the opinions of the clergy on the subject of Episcopacy, as compared with the general belief thirty years before. One class among them regarded it as the only source of a valid ordination, another as the form of ecclesiastical government most in accordance with the Scriptures and with the practice of the primitive Church; and these together formed a considerable majority of the parochial incumbents. There was a third class, however, which held all forms of church government to be indifferent, or which had submitted to the hierarchy, though their feelings or convictions were in favour of Presbyterianism. The ministers of this last class were ready to submit to the new establishment as soon as an opportunity should be given to them; but the others were firmly resolved to maintain their principles, whatever the consequences might be, though many of them, like the members of the Aberdeen synod, would have been willing to consent to an accommodation which would preserve the essential rights of the episcopate. As all chance of such an accommodation was now at an end, the great body of the clergy were prepared to act together in matters ecclesiastical. It was otherwise, however, in regard to their political opinions. Most of them would undoubtedly have preferred some expedient by which the rights of James or of his infant son might have been preserved; but, when William was acknowledged by the estates, and in actual possession of the throne, a considerable number were disposed to take the oaths to the new sovereign, and submit to his authority, as the only means of maintaining a regular government. The clergymen who held these views were more numerous than has generally been supposed, and, had William been successful in his wish to secure to them a complete toleration, they would probably have become a majority of the whole body. But persecution had its usual effect in promoting extreme opinions, and every year that passed left the supporters of Episcopacy more and more identified with the adherents of the banished sovereign, though it was

not till after the death of Queen Anne that the change was entirely accomplished.

There were also differences of another description, and entirely of a secular character. The bishops, the whole clergy of the western counties, most of those in the South, and many in other parts of the kingdom, were deprived of their benefices in the manner which has already been mentioned, or by the proceedings of the Presbyterian ecclesiastical courts to be afterwards noticed. But, in the northern and central provinces, those who took the oaths generally remained in possession of their cures, and were sometimes succeeded by incumbents holding similar opinions regarding Episcopacy. The ejected clergy had no certain means of support, and were exposed to great hardships. Some of them officiated in meeting-houses, or resided in the families of the nobility and gentry of their communion; but others, especially the aged and infirm who had no private means, were entirely destitute. Sums of money were collected among the wealthy members of the Church, and among the friends of the hierarchy in England and Ireland, and a fund was established for the relief of the distressed clergy and their families. Several of the deprived ministers, who had no objection to the oath of allegiance, received ecclesiastical appointments in the English and Irish Churches. Others sought refuge in more distant lands. A large number of the laborious missionaries who ministered to the congregations of the Church of England in the North American colonies were Scotsmen. Previously to the Revolution, Dr. James Blair, a Scottish clergyman, had gone out to Virginia; and, during the very year in which the hierarchy was overthrown in Scotland, he was appointed commissary for the Bishop of London in that colony—a circumstance which may have aided in inducing his countrymen to resort to the plantations.

While most of the parochial ministers thus remained faithful to Episcopacy, a numerous body of the people followed the same course. Like their pastors, they were divided into two classes, those who took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and those who declined to do so. It was maintained at the time, and it has been frequently asserted since, that in numbers and influence they exceeded the members of the new establishment. Immediately after the Revolution,

Sage attempted to shew that the clause in the Claim of Right, in which it was said that Prelacy was contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, was not supported by facts. He derived a plausible argument from the circumstance that, during the toleration in the reign of James, when the profession of Presbyterianism was no longer subject to penalties, there were hardly any meeting-houses north of the Tay, and that in the rest of Scotland, except in the five south-western counties, not a third part of the people took the benefit of it. This is an effectual answer to the assertion so often made that almost the whole nation was zealously attached to Presbyterianism, and only prevented by the tyranny of the government from openly deserting the establishment; but the toleration did not last long enough to shew that all who forbore to take advantage of it had no aversion to Episcopacy.

The question indeed is one which cannot be satisfactorily answered. There are some particulars, however, in regard to which there is no reasonable doubt. It is evident that the Cameronians, as distinguished from the moderate Presbyterians, formed the great majority in the south-western counties; that Episcopacy was generally unpopular in the South; that from the Forth to the Tay the adherents of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism were more equally divided; and that beyond the Tay the supporters of Episcopacy were much superior in number. If the opinions of the various classes of the people had been taken, it is certain that the nobility and gentry, the teachers in the universities, and the members of the College of Justice, would generally have adhered to Episcopacy, while Presbyterianism would have been supported by the majority of the burgesses and peasantry. It may therefore be reasonably inferred that the adherents of Episcopacy were the more powerful, wealthy, and educated party, and those of Presbyterianism the more numerous, and also the more zealous. Undoubtedly, however, the supporters of Episcopacy would have been much less numerous than they were, had the civil government in the reign of William, like that in the time of Charles the Second, imposed penalties on those who attended the ministrations of the deprived pastors. But, while the clergy were treated with great harshness, no attempt was made

to compel the laity to join in the worship, or submit to the discipline, of the Presbyterian communion.¹

The narrative of events after the rising of parliament may now be resumed. The farther prosecution of the measures contemplated for the deprivation of the parochial clergy was left to the newly established Presbyterian body ; but there was one important national institution which could be adapted

¹ In regard to the relative numbers and influence of the adherents of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, opinions, yet more favourable to the former than those mentioned in the text, are expressed by two eminent contemporaries. One of them had no ecclesiastical bias in either direction, though, as a politician, he was favourably disposed to Episcopacy ; the other was a sincere and zealous Presbyterian. Lord Tarbet, afterwards Earl of Cromartie, writing in the summer of 1689, says, "The matter of church government hath been made a pretence for the troubles of Scotland now for a hundred years. Episcopacy appears insufferable to a great party, and Presbytery is as odious to another. The Presbyterians are the more zealous and hotter ; the other more numerous and powerful. The present parliament is more numerous of Presbyterians by the new method of election of burghs ; but the major part of the nobility and barons are not for Presbytery." (Leven and Melville Papers, p. 125.) General Mackay, in a letter to the Laird of Grant, dated the fourth of December, 1690, referring to the recent establishment of Presbyterianism, thus expresses himself :—"I am sure that no man who will duly weigh all circumstances, but will confess with me, that humanly the standing of that government doth consist in making it supportable to the king and kingdom ; for let men flatter themselves as they will, I tell you who know Scotland, and where the strength and weakness of it doth lie, that if I were as much an enemy to that interest as I am a friend, I would without difficulty engage to form in Scotland a more formidable party against it, even for their majesties' government, than can be formed for it." (Letter in the General Register House, Edinburgh, read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by Mr. Joseph Robertson, and printed in the Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal, vol. vii. p. 23.) The following are the remarks of Mr. Burton in connection with this subject :—"There is no doubt that the voice of the people as it was heard in parliament—that of the middle classes and the common people in the southern counties—was decidedly for the Presbyterian system. Whether the supposition that the country would have given a general majority on their side be right or not, yet they possessed what was essential for collective strength, in being certainly a majority of those who had firm and ardent opinions on church government, and were zealous in their behalf. The southerners were much more resolutely anxious for their Presbyterian system, than the northerners were for the Episcopalian. . . . Had the religious powers in the country been permitted with some modification and restraint to adjust themselves, Episcopacy would have prevailed north of the Tay ; in Fife and along the east coast a moderate Presbyterianism might have developed itself, though perhaps not quite so moderate as that which the Dutch king, backed by the influence of England, established ; the western shires would have been such as they have described themselves in the quotations made in these pages from their testimonies." (History of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 189, 190, 203.)

to the altered state of matters only by the direct intervention of the estates. The universities, from the time that their ancient system had been partially restored by King James the Sixth, had generally been favourable to Episcopacy: the chief supporters of Prelacy had been found among their teachers, and they had themselves flourished most under the patronage of the bishops. As already mentioned, a special act of parliament had been passed, enjoining all persons holding office in these institutions to take the oath of allegiance, and subscribe the Westminster Confession; and a commission was named, consisting of noblemen, barons, judges, and ministers, with authority to visit all universities, colleges, and schools, to remove scandalous, insufficient, and disaffected persons, and to carry out the other provisions of the statute.

The commissioners, as authorised by the act, divided themselves into committees for the visitation of the different universities and colleges. In that appointed for St. Andrews the Earl of Crawford presided, and the proceedings are said to have been conducted by him with needless harshness. Dr. Skene, Rector of the University, and Provost of St. Salvator's College, Dr. Wemyss, Principal of St. Leonard's College, and Dr. Lorimer, Principal of St. Mary's College, and all the regents, except one who complied and two who were absent at the time of the visitation, were ejected. The professorship of divinity in St. Mary's College was vacant.¹

The committee appointed to visit the University of Glasgow is not accused of proceeding with such severity; and, either from that cause, or from the more complying temper of the masters, the deprivations there were much fewer in number. Dr. Fall, Principal of the College, Dr. James Wemyss, Professor of Divinity, and one of the regents, were, however, ejected for refusing to comply with the conditions of the act. Dr. Fall was a man of learning and worth, and, as he had no scruples about the oath of allegiance, his unwillingness to conform to Presbyterianism must have been his only

¹ Historical Relation of the late Presbyterian Assembly held at Edinburgh in 1690, pp. 17, 48. MS. List and Account of the Visitation, in possession of the Rev. Patrick Cheyne, Aberdeen. The author of the Historical Relation, and Skinner (vol. ii. p. 555), assert that all the masters were ejected; but it appears from the MS. above referred to that this is incorrect.

reason for refusing to submit. He retired to England, and was soon afterwards appointed Precentor of York. His labours in editing the works of Archbishop Leighton have already been referred to.¹

The Edinburgh committee sat during the months of August and September. The head of the college was Dr. Monro, Bishop-nominate of Argyll, a scholar of considerable attainments, and peculiarly obnoxious both as a zealous champion of Episcopacy, and as an adherent of the exiled king. His opposition to the civil government was hardly concealed, and, as during the previous year he had resigned his office as one of the ministers of the city, the Presbyterians inferred, on reasonable grounds, that he had done so to avoid being deprived for not taking the oath of allegiance. Among other offences, he was charged with using the Book of Common Prayer in the college. His answer to this accusation is important, as shewing the practice of the Church, and the opinions of its more zealous members, in regard to liturgical forms. He stated that the Prayer Book had been used in the chapel royal at Holyrood in the reign of Charles the First, and in many families ever since the Restoration of Charles the Second. This seems to imply that there had been no public use of the Liturgy either in cathedrals or parish churches before the Revolution. In regard to his own proceedings he added:—“When I left off preaching in the High Church, I advised with some of my brethren, and the result was that we should read the Book of Common Prayer, and preach within our families, per vices, since most of them were acquainted somewhat with the Liturgy of the Church of England; neither did we think, when Quakers and all sects were tolerated, that we should be blamed for reading those prayers within our private families, which we prefer to all other forms now used in the Christian Church. Neither had we any design to proselyte the people to anything they had no mind to, else I might have read the Liturgy in one of the public schools within the college; and it must not be said we were afraid to venture upon the public exercise of it because of the rabble, for, during the session of the college, it is very well known in the city that

¹ *Munimenta Almæ Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. ii. pp. 501, 502, 507—509. *Irving's Lives of Scottish Writers*, vol. ii. p. 149.

the mobile durst not presume to give us the least disturbance. However, the matter succeeded beyond what we proposed or looked for. We preached to the people upon the Sundays. They came by hundreds more than we had room for, and very many became acquainted with the Liturgy of the Church of England, and perceived by their own experience there was neither Popery nor superstition in it."

Such was the first step towards the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer in Scotland. Dr. Monro easily refuted most of the charges brought against him; but, as he remained firm in his religious and political opinions, he was ejected from his functions in the college. He afterwards officiated as one of the clergy of Edinburgh, and died in the year 1715.

Dr. Strachan, who had formerly been ejected from his appointment as one of the clergy of the city, refused to comply with the test imposed by the statute, and was deprived of the professorship of divinity. One of the particular charges against him was that he maintained the doctrine of Consubstantiation. This he denied; but he said that it had been good for the peace of Christendom if the different parties had never taken it upon them peremptorily to determine the manner of our Lord's presence in the Holy Eucharist. And he appealed in defence to the teaching of the Church of England, which held the real, effectual, spiritual presence, and yet denied both Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation. Sentence of deprivation was also pronounced against three others of the professors. The new test was refused by Dr. David Gregory, Professor of Mathematics, grandson of John Gregory, minister at Drumoak in the diocese of Aberdeen, who had been deprived for not taking the National Covenant; but his high character and attainments inclined the visiters to connive at his holding office. Soon afterwards, Dr. Gregory received the appointment of Savillian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford.¹

The committee named for the visitation of the University

¹ See the contemporary pamphlet, "Presbyterian Inquisition, as it was lately practised against the Professors of the College of Edinburgh." See also Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh, vol. i. p. 313-316. Dr. Monro would have agreed to sign the Westminster Confession as *vinculum unitatis Ecclesiæ*, but not so as to hold all its articles *de fide*.

of Aberdeen sat in the month of October. Dr. George Middleton, Principal of King's College, when called upon to take the oath of allegiance and comply with the act of parliament in other respects, answered that, if left to his own choice, he would not willingly come under such engagements ; but, as he was required by authority, and was free in conscience to comply, he would obey. He thereupon took the oath of allegiance, subscribed the Westminster Confession, and declared his readiness to submit to the church government now established by law. His example appears to have been followed by Robert Paterson, Principal of Marischal College, and by most of the professors and regents of both colleges. Dr. James Garden, Professor of Divinity in King's College, wished to be excused giving his opinion until he should know the mind of the general meeting of the commission. This was agreed to, and he was allowed to retain his office in the meantime. In August, 1696, Dr. Garden appeared before the committee of visitation, and acknowledged the clemency and mildness of the government in allowing him to hold his office, but refused to sign the Confession. In the beginning of the following year, sentence of deprivation was pronounced against him.¹

¹ *Fasti Aberdonenses*, pp. 361-368, 379, 380. The account of the Visitation of the University of Aberdeen, given by Skinner (vol. ii. p. 556), and by Lawson (*History of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the Revolution*, pp. 109, 110), is very inaccurate. They were not aware that almost all the professors took the oath of allegiance, and submitted to the new ecclesiastical government. The circumstance that the Earl Marischal was chairman of the Aberdeen committee must have contributed to induce the members of one of the colleges to submit.

CHAPTER LXXII.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY VISITATION OF THE UNIVERSITIES IN OCTOBER, 1690, TO THE DEATH OF KING WILLIAM IN MARCH, 1702.

Meeting of Presbyterian ministers and elders—General Assembly of 1690—Order for a general fast—Sermon of Lawrence Charteris—General Assembly of 1692—Proposed comprehension of the Episcopal clergy—Meeting of Parliament—General Assembly of 1694—Alleged interference of Carstairs—Proceedings of the Commission of Assembly at Aberdeen—Protestation of James Gordon and others—General Assembly of 1695—Execution of Thomas Aikenhead—The Barrier Act—Deposition of Dr. George Garden—Death of King William.

THE act of parliament establishing the Presbyterian form of church government appointed the general assembly to meet in October. Thirty-seven years had elapsed since the last assembly was dismissed by Cromwell's officers; and, during that long period of desuetude, the forms and usages of the court had gradually become less known, and were now in a great measure forgotten. In order to make the necessary arrangements, a preliminary meeting of ministers and lay elders was held at Edinburgh. Its proceedings, at the very commencement, threatened to bring about a disruption in the newly established Presbyterian body. Most of those ministers to whom the ecclesiastical government had been committed by parliament, originally belonged to the Protestant party, and some of them had been deposed by sentences of the ecclesiastical courts before the Restoration. Those who held the opinions formerly maintained by the Resolutioners, objected to the admission of the deposed ministers until the sentences pronounced against them were rescinded; and, when this was refused, Alexander Pitcairn, afterwards Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, entered a protest, and threatened to take farther measures in opposition. The more prudent min-

isters, aware how fatal to their cause a renewal of the old strife would be, induced Pitcairn to acquiesce, and the proceedings went on without further discord. A number of young and zealous preachers were added to the governing body; arrangements were made for the ensuing assembly; and presbyteries were set up in various districts, with full power to try and purge out all scandalous, erroneous, and negligent ministers, in terms of the statute.

The presbyteries proceeded with great zeal to discharge the duty committed to them. In consequence of the ejection of the western clergy by the Cameronians, and the deprivations by parliament and the privy council, nearly half the parish churches in the kingdom were already destitute of ministers; but this did not prevent the Presbyterians from proceeding with farther depositions. As they were themselves the only judges of what was to be held scandal, negligence, or error, they had no difficulty in finding pretexts for their sentences. The only limit to the deprivations was their inability to enforce them in those parts of the kingdom where the people were strongly attached to Episcopacy.¹

The general assembly met at Edinburgh on the sixteenth of October. The sovereigns were represented by Lord Carmichael, a Presbyterian nobleman favourable to moderate counsels; and a minister named Hugh Kennedy was chosen moderator. About a hundred and eighty ministers and elders were present. Nearly the whole of the kingdom beyond the Tay was unrepresented; no one sat for the universities except Gilbert Rule, the newly appointed Principal of the College of Edinburgh; and among the elders were few of the

¹ Historical Relation of the late Presbyterian General Assembly held at Edinburgh in the year 1690, p. 4-14. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 556-562. In the Leven and Melville Papers (pp. 257, 258), there is a letter from Alexander Pitcairn to Lord Melville, written in August, 1689, in which he complains of the "unreasonable humour of some implacable ones, who design to exercise a Prelacy under the notion of Presbytery, and, under the pretence of purging, to destroy the church government for which they pretend to be so zealous." He adds, "If a committee were appointed by the parliament, consisting of Presbyterian ministers, noblemen, and gentlemen, for purging the Church of scandalous, erroneous, and insufficient ministers, and for constituting of presbyteries, the remanent conform ministers, promising to own the Presbyterian government, might prove more trusty for the orderly exercise of it, than they who now pretend to be so zealous for it."

nobility or higher gentry. A letter from the king was read, in which he mentioned his willing concurrence with parliament in enacting such a form of church government as was judged to be most conformable to the inclinations of the people; exhorted them to proceed in a quiet and peaceable manner, as what was no less pleasing to him, than becoming in them; and declared that his authority would never be a tool to the irregular passions of any party, and that moderation was what religion enjoined, what neighbouring Churches expected, and what he himself recommended. The calm yet somewhat imperious language of this letter could not have been agreeable to many in the assembly; but a dignified and becoming answer was prepared, in which the members expressed their willingness to follow the king's advice, and added, "if after the violence for conscience sake that we have suffered and so much detested, and those grievous abuses of authority in the late reigns, whereby through some men's irregular passions we have so sadly smarted, we ourselves should lapse into the same errors, we should certainly prove the most unjust towards God, foolish towards ourselves, and ungrateful towards your majesty, of all men on earth."

One of the first matters which came before the assembly was an offer of submission from three Cameronian preachers, who had previously, for the exoneration of their consciences, exhibited their testimony against what they called the corruptions and defections of the Church. It was agreed to receive them into communion, the moderator exhorting them to walk orderly in time coming, and to oppose all schisms and divisions in the Church. An act was passed, by which all ministers, probationers, and elders, were ordered to subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith. By another act, it was recommended to presbyteries to take notice of all ministers within their bounds, whether the late conforming incumbents or others, who should not observe fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the Church, or who should administer the sacraments in private, or celebrate clandestine marriages. An act was also passed by which the administration of the Lord's Supper to sick persons in their houses, and the celebration of Baptism in private, were expressly forbidden. A solemn fast for the sins of the nation was appointed to be kept on the

second Thursday of January ; and every minister, whether in church or meeting-house, was ordered to read the act publicly from the pulpit a Sabbath or two before. Among the national sins referred to in the act, the introduction of Prelacy, and the consequent decay of piety, were expressly mentioned. Finally, two commissions of visitation were named, one for the presbyteries south of the Tay, the other for those north of that river. The members shewed their prudence and moderation in one important point. No attempt was made to renew the obligation of the National Covenant or of the Solemn League and Covenant. The assembly rose on the thirteenth of November.¹

The fast appointed by the assembly was sanctioned and enjoined by the privy council, and among those who gave obedience to the civil authority there must have been many who had little sympathy with some of the causes assigned for the humiliation. One of the clergy who obeyed the order of the council was Lawrence Charteris, the friend of Leighton, who had resigned his professorship of divinity in the College of Edinburgh rather than take the Test of 1681, and was now minister at Dirleton. He read the act of assembly, as required by the council, and then addressed his congregation. "Ye have heard," he said, "the causes of the fast, as they are represented by the general assembly. They have recommended it to pastors and others to be serious and sincere in the confession and acknowledgment of their own sins, and the nation's transgressions, and to be earnest in their supplications of such favour from God; as the present condition and circumstances, in which we and other Reformed Churches are, do call for. I hope, after the hearing of so long a paper, you will have a little farther patience, while I sincerely represent to you some things concerning the sins which we are to confess, and the mercies for which we are to supplicate.

"All who are wise, and have a right sense of true religion and Christianity, cannot but see there has been a great defection among us. The defection has not been from the truth or from the fundamental articles of the Christian Faith, but from

¹ Acts of the General Assembly, ed. 1843, p. 221-235. Historical Relation of the General Assembly of 1690, p. 16-64. Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. ii. preface, p. lxiii. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 562-575.

the life of God and the power of religion, and from the temper and conversation which the Gospel requires in us. So that I doubt not but that we, and all good men, will join with the assembly in acknowledging the sins and defection of the nation. But whereas the assembly seems to represent Episcopacy as a principal and capital point of the defection, I find myself obliged to declare my sense in this affair, on this occasion. I do not take myself to be bound to endeavour to justify the manner of election and nomination of persons to that office, which was in use among us, nor the legal establishment or the laws by which it was established among us, nor the conduct of those who were in office. And I will not say but that some who were in the office of Episcopacy, and that complied with that government, might have been in some measure accessory to the corruption by their bad example or connivance, and neglect of the true exercise of discipline. But yet I cannot think that the settling of an imparity among the officers of the Church is to be looked upon as a defection, or that it is a thing in itself unlawful, or that it is of itself introductory of the abounding of wickedness and scandals in the Church. This I may with the greatest confidence affirm, that religion never flourished more in the world than it did when and where there was an imparity among the officers of the Church. And this I know, that some famous Protestant Churches do allow Episcopacy, and continue to this day under that form of government. And I am sure that most of the wise, pious, and learned men abroad, though they live where the government is not episcopal, have not such bad thoughts of it as our brethren here have. And whereas they charge many of the then standing ministry with compliance with the alteration of the government, I do not see that the continuance of pastors to serve God and the Church, under the late settlement, is to be looked upon as a defection for which they are to repent; divers of them having continued to serve in the ministry, neither out of pride, or covetousness, or fear, or weakness and want of courage, but out of conscience, and a fear to offend God, by refusing their service in that station, when there was no insuperable step or bar put in their way, as they thought then there was not; and the like may be said of many others,

who entered afterwards into the pastoral office under the late government. . . . "They [the assembly] seem to appropriate to those of their way that they endeavoured to keep their integrity in the main things, and that they did own truth and bear witness against the course of defection; but I know not a few among those who complied that did endeavour to maintain their integrity in the main things, and did own all the necessary and fundamental truths of the Gospel, and did bear faithful witness against the course of the true and real defection from Truth and Righteousness. They confess, as I understand it, that all of whatsoever persuasion generally do not receive Christ, nor imitate Him. They have passed over many sins of those of their way, which all of their people see, whereof some are almost proper to them. How many of them are proud, fierce, covetous, turbulent, seditious, and ungovernable? Many of them presume to judge, censure, reproach, revile, and traduce such as are not of their way, though magistrates and ministers. Not a few seem to place all religion in a zeal for their proper opinions, and in running separate courses from those who are not of their persuasion. Many of them are of a factious, schismatical, and uncharitable temper, and have by their bitter and indiscreet zeal been prompted to such inhuman, barbarous, and cruel actions, which have been so much the more scandalous, as being acted under the colour and pretence of religion. These, and such like, should be confessed ingenuously, and mourned for. And O that it might please God to make us all sensible how far we have declined from that spirit and temper, and the behaviour and conversation which the Gospel requires of us, and to dispose us to reform and amend."¹

The commissioners appointed by the assembly proceeded to discharge the duties imposed upon them, by purging out the old incumbents, and planting others in their room. In many cases, however, they found it impossible, even with the aid of the civil government, and sometimes of the military, to force a Presbyterian minister on a reluctant congregation. At Aber-

¹ See the extracts from Charteris' Discourse in the second part of the Case of the Episcopal Clergy, p. 37-40. Charteris died in 1700, of a painful disease, which he bore with the utmost patience. (Burnet, vol. i. p. 372.)

deen, the commission was unable even to proceed with its ordinary business. When the members came thither in the month of Mareh, they were assaulted by a mob, set on, there can be little doubt, by the upper classes of the town, and were obliged to return southwards without effecting anything.¹

The next general assembly had been appointed to be held at Edinburgh, on the first of November, 1691; but it was adjourned by the king to the fifteenth of January, 1692. It met accordingly on the latter day, and the Earl of Lothian was the royal commissioner. About one hundred and eleven ministers and fifty-four ruling elders attended, but there were still few representatives from the northern districts. The proceedings were important. It was the wish of the king to unite in one ecclesiastical communion all his Protestant subjects who were willing to acknowledge his own title to the throne. As the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Presbyterian form of church government had received the sanction of parliament, it was necessary that the proposed scheme of union should recognise the confession and government thus ratified; but it was supposed that many of the clergy would gladly join the establishment, if no renunciation of Episcopacy were demanded, and if the Westminster formulary were allowed to be signed, only as a bond of peace, not as the confession of the faith of each individual. This proposal appears to have received the approbation of those English prelates whose advice William was accustomed to seek in matters ecclesiastical.

A few days before the meeting of the assembly, two letters were written by the king, one to the assembly itself, the other to the Episcopal clergy. The former, referring to the large number of ministers still in possession of benefices who were not represented in the assembly, mentioned that the king had directed those clergymen to apply to the assembly for admission to communion, and to a share in church government, in terms of a formula which had been delivered to the royal commissioner; and it recommended that they should be admitted accordingly, unless any accusation were made against them, in which event the charges, if too numerous to be disposed of

¹ Lawson, p. 137-147. Burton, vol. i. pp. 213, 214. Carstairs' State Papers, p. 146. Leven and Melville Papers, p. 606.

by the assembly, were to be heard before two commissions, one for the districts south of the Tay which was to sit at Edinburgh, the other for those beyond that river which was to sit at Aberdeen, both to be composed of Presbyterian and Episcopal ministers in equal numbers. The letter to the Episcopal clergy stated that William had favourably received their assurances of loyalty, conveyed to him by Dr. Canaries and another minister of the name of Leask. It expressed his belief that they would willingly unite with the Presbyterian ministers on the terms which his majesty had adjusted, and referred them to the clergymen who had presented their address for the tenor of the formula. That document was to the following effect:—"I A. B. do sincerely declare and promise that I will submit to the Presbyterian government of the Church, as it is now established in this kingdom, under their majesties King William and Queen Mary, by presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies; and that I will, as becomes a minister of the Gospel, heartily concur with the said government, for the suppressing of sin and wickedness, the promoting of piety, and the purging of the Church of all erroneous and scandalous ministers. And I do further promise that I will subscribe the Confession of Faith, and the Shorter and Larger Catechisms, now confirmed by act of parliament, as containing the doctrine of the Protestant religion professed in this kingdom."

On the king's wishes being made known, most of the Episcopal clergy who had taken the oath of allegiance were disposed to accept the terms recommended, and, at a meeting of the ministers of the diocese of Aberdeen held in the chapel of King's College, it was formally agreed to apply to the assembly as suggested. Two commissioners appointed by the Aberdeen synod repaired to Edinburgh, where they met the representatives of the southern clergy. Addresses had been prepared in which they offered to subscribe in terms of the royal formula, but it was only after considerable difficulty and delay that they were allowed to present them to the assembly. The royal commissioner supported their request, and the petitions were referred to a committee, but no farther notice of them was taken by the assembly. The commissioner, finding that the members, though they did not openly oppose, were

resolved not to consent to his master's wishes, dissolved the assembly in the king's name, without specifying another day for its meeting. The moderator rose, and, after stating that it was the Church's desire to obey the king's commands in all things lawful, added, on behalf of his brethren, "I, in their name, they adhering to me, humbly crave leave to declare that the office-bearers in the House of God have a spiritual intrinsic power from Jesus Christ, the only Head of the Church, to meet in assemblies about the affairs thereof, the necessity of the same being first represented to the magistrate; and farther, I humbly crave that the dissolution of this assembly, without indicting a new one to a certain day, may not be to the prejudice of our yearly general assemblies, granted us by the laws of the kingdom." The members then agreed to meet on the third Wednesday of August, 1693.¹

There is some reason to doubt whether the Episcopal clergy were sincere in their professions of a wish for union on the terms proposed; in any event, it was hardly to be expected that the Presbyterians would voluntarily consent to a plan which, if carried out, would have given their opponents a majority in the general assembly, and in most of the synods and presbyteries.

The estates met on the eighteenth of April, 1693, and the Duke of Hamilton once more held the office of royal commissioner. On the nineteenth of May, an act was passed by which all members of parliament, and persons voting at the election of such members, all persons holding any civil or military appointment, and all preachers and ministers of the Gospel, were ordered, not only to take the oath of allegiance, but also to subscribe a declaration of assurance, by which William and Mary were acknowledged to be king and queen *de jure* as well as *de facto*; and by which a promise was made to maintain their title and government against the late King James and his adherents, and all enemies whatever.

Another act was passed on the twelfth of June, entitled "An act for settling the quiet and peace of the Church." This statute ordained that no person should be admitted or

¹ See a pamphlet published in 1704, entitled "Vindication of the Address made by the Episcopal Clergy to the General Assembly of the Presbyterians, Anno 1692." See also Burton, vol. i. p. 226-230; Lawson, p. 164-166; Burnet, vol. iv. pp. 150, 151; Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. ii. preface, pp. lxiii. lxiv.

continued as a minister or preacher, in the established Church, unless he had first taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance, and the assurance, and also subscribed the Westminster Confession of Faith, declaring the same to be the confession of his faith, and owning the doctrine therein contained to be the true doctrine which he would constantly adhere to, and also owning the established Presbyterian government to be the only government of the Church, and declaring, that he would submit thereto, and never attempt, directly or indirectly, the subversion thereof. It was likewise ordained that uniformity of worship, as then existing, should be observed by all ministers and preachers. The estates of parliament farther requested their majesties to call a general assembly for settling the affairs of the Church, and to the end that all ministers, holding benefices, not yet admitted to a share in the church government, who should qualify themselves in manner foresaid and apply to the ecclesiastical courts, should be received to a share in the government; certifying that all who should not so qualify, and apply within thirty days after the meeting of the assembly, might be deposed by the ecclesiastical courts both from their office and benefice; but declaring that those who should so qualify and apply should have their majesties' full protection, until received as before mentioned.¹

The former of these acts, so far as regarded the matter of its provisions, contained nothing about which the Presbyterians generally could have any scruple. They for the most part admitted the right, as well as the possession, of the reigning sovereigns. It was very different, however, with the Episcopal clergy. Many of those who had taken the oath of allegiance in the simple terms formerly required, were not prepared to acknowledge William and Mary as their rightful sovereigns. But, on the other hand, the Presbyterians denied that the secular power was entitled to impose any obligations on ministers of the Gospel, as a condition of holding their office; and they objected to the whole purport of the latter of the two statutes as subversive of the legal right of the establishment, and as imposing a sort of test without the authority of the ecclesiastical courts.

The government, aware of the objections of the Presby-

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. pp. 262-264, 303.

terians, forbore to urge subscription in terms of the statute ; but there were apprehensions that it would be forced by the royal commissioner at the next general assembly, and the meeting of that body was looked for with much anxiety. On the day named by the moderator of last assembly—the third Wednesday of August—no meeting took place. It was summoned, in terms of the king's writ, for the sixth of December, but was adjourned to the twenty-ninth of March, 1694 ; and on that day it met at Edinburgh. Lord Carmichael again held the office of royal commissioner. No attempt was made to compel the members to take the oath of allegiance or subscribe the assurance, and, in return, the assembly shewed its readiness to comply in other respects with the king's wishes. A commission was named, with power to receive into ministerial communion such of the late conforming ministers, qualified in terms of law, as should apply for that indulgence personally and one by one, and should subscribe a formula, annexed to the Confession of Faith, in the following terms :—“ I—— do sincerely own and declare the above Confession of Faith, approved by former general assemblies of this Church, and ratified by law in the year 1690, to be the confession of my faith ; and that I own the doctrine therein contained to be the true doctrine which I will constantly adhere to ; as likewise that I own and acknowledge Presbyterian church government of this Church, now settled by law, by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies, to be the only government of this Church, and that I will submit thereto, concur therewith, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion thereof ; and that I shall observe uniformity of worship, and of the administration of all public ordinances, within this Church, as the same are at present performed and allowed.”¹

In connection with the proceedings of this assembly, a story is told by the author of the *Life of Carstairs*, which has frequently been repeated by other writers. It is said that a short time before the meeting of the assembly, while Carstairs, William's Presbyterian chaplain and confidential adviser, was absent from court, the king was induced by Tarbet and Dalrymple to instruct Lord Carmichael to require all the minis-

¹ Acts of Assembly, p. 235-245.

ters who should be present at the meeting to sign the assurance, and, in the event of their refusal, to dissolve the assembly. Carmichael, according to the narrative, having ascertained that the ministers were determined not to submit, wrote to the king for his final instructions, and received a peremptory order to enforce the royal injunction. Carstairs at this very time returned to Kensington, and, learning what had taken place, went to the messenger, and required him, in the king's name, to deliver up his despatches. It was now night, but, repairing immediately to the palace, he obtained admission to the royal bed-chamber, and, falling on his knees, awakened the king, and told him that he had come to entreat that his life should be spared. The king, in astonishment, asked what crime he was guilty of, and Carstairs related what he had done. William at first was indignant, but, when his faithful servant explained the fatal consequences that were sure to follow if the royal mandate were obeyed, he saw the prudence of his advice, and recalled the instructions which he had given. The messenger bearing this recall arrived at Edinburgh on the very morning the assembly was to meet, and just in time to prevent the evil which would otherwise have taken place.

Carstairs' biographer does not tell us from whom he had this singular story, nor does he produce a single authority for any thing connected with it, except one unsigned letter, addressed to Carstairs, and written from Edinburgh two days after the meeting of the assembly, which alludes to the countermanding, by means of the royal chaplain, of an order obtained from the king that the members of assembly should take the oaths. It is probable that the despatch of such an order was actually prevented by Carstairs; but the narrative otherwise seems to be no better than a legend.¹

¹ See Life of Carstairs by Dr. M'Cormick, prefixed to his State Papers, p. 57-64. Mr. Burton, in his History, vol. i. pp. 234, 235, gives the substance of Dr. M'Cormick's narrative, and adds in a note, "The facts in general, as they are thus given in outline, are proved by the documents contained in Carstairs' State Papers. In the Memoir prefixed to the Collection, the incident receives some touches of romance, which may or may not be true." There is not a single allusion to the matter in the State Papers, so far as I can discover, the letter already referred to forming part of the Memoir. Immediately before the narrative, Dr. M'Cormick quotes at length a letter on the assurance and comprehension, which he supposes to have been written by the English Presbyterians, and

Few of the clergy sought admission to the privileges of the establishment on the conditions prescribed by the parliament and the assembly. Those who might have been willing, as on a previous occasion, to attach their signatures to the Westminster Confession, and submit to the Presbyterian form of church government, were not disposed to bind themselves in the stricter manner now required. The ministers of the new establishment did no more than they were entitled to do in exacting complete conformity from all who wished to share its privileges; but it is equally evident that no conscientious supporter of Episcopacy could have complied with the terms proposed.¹

Now more certain than before of the support of the state, the commission of assembly again attempted to displace the old clergy in those districts where they had hitherto kept posses-

to have had a great effect in determining the conduct of their Scottish brethren. This document, to which he attaches so much importance, has all the appearance of being a Jacobite forgery, and could not have misled the Presbyterian leaders in Scotland.

¹ Dr. Cook (vol. iii. pp. 454, 455) condemns the conduct of the clergy, in refusing the conditions, as unreasonable on ecclesiastical grounds, because the acknowledgment of the Presbyterian form of church government did not imply the surrender of any principle; and because the subscription of the Westminster Confession could not be objected to, inasmuch as that confession had been continued after the restoration of Episcopacy. His censure is unjust. The acknowledgment of Presbyterianism in the form required could hardly have been made even by the most moderate adherents of the hierarchy; and it cannot be said with accuracy that the Westminster Confession had been continued under Episcopacy. Burnet indeed says (vol. ii. p. 303) in connection with the Test Act of 1681, "For these last thirty years, the only confession of faith that was read in Scotland was that which the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, anno 1648, had set out, which the Scottish Kirk had set up instead of the old one; and the bishops had left it in possession, though the authority that enacted it was annulled." Some of the prelates perhaps tolerated the use of the Westminster Confession, and some may even have encouraged it; but it had no formal sanction of any kind, and those bishops who, like Mitchell and Alexander Burnet, belonged to a different school of theology, must have disliked its doctrines, as much as they disregarded its authority. The clergy, who could hardly be induced by the sovereign and the parliament to sign the Confession of 1560, were not likely to receive the Westminster formulary. At the Revolution, it was so well understood that the clergy were generally averse to the latter document, that, in a paper drawn up by Lord Tarbet in 1689, containing a scheme for establishing both communions, those who acknowledged the Presbyterian model were spoken of as owning the Westminster Confession, those opposed to it, as owning the Articles of the English Church. See Leven and Melville Papers, p. 126.

sion of the churches. In June, 1694, the members proceeded to Aberdeen. On the fifth of that month, the clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen, and representatives from the dioceses of Murray, Ross, Caithness, and Orkney, and from the shires of Angus and Mearns, had met in the chapel of King's College, to consult in regard to the state of the Church, and the approaching visit of the commissioners. This meeting represented the clergy of the whole Church north of the Tay, at least those who had taken the oaths to the government. The ministers present appointed a committee of their number to appear before the commission of assembly, and to demand an answer to certain questions relative to the authority of that body.

On the twenty-ninth of June, James Gordon, Parson of Banchory-Devenick, and others of the committee, appeared before the commission at Aberdeen, and lodged a paper containing the questions, and a formal protestation against the authority of the late assemblies, which they refused to own as lawfully representing the National Church. The questions chiefly referred to the inconsistency of fifty or sixty ministers, who held Presbyterian opinions, claiming to exercise the whole ecclesiastical power of the kingdom, and to the authority of lay-elders. The commission having declined to give any formal answer, the committee appealed to their majesties, King William and Queen Mary, and to the next lawfully constituted general assembly. When the commissioners went on to Inverness, fourteen ministers presented a paper, in which they declared their adherence to the Aberdeen protestation. It was found impossible at this time to proceed with the intended deprivations, but the visit of the commissioners was not entirely without effect. They prevailed on several ministers of the diocese of Aberdeen to conform to the establishment, and obtained possession, for the first time, of the cathedral at Old Aberdeen. On their return, they requested the aid of the privy council, and afterwards of the parliament, to enforce their ecclesiastical authority; and three of the ministers that subscribed the protestation were deprived and imprisoned, while two others, who professed their regret for what they had done and renounced their subscription, were dismissed without punishment.¹

¹ See a contemporary pamphlet, "The Queries and Protestation of the Scots

During the parliament which sat in the summer of 1695, an act was passed, by which all deprived ministers were forbidden to celebrate marriages or baptisms, under the pain of imprisonment. By another act of the same session, farther time was allowed for taking the oath of allegiance, and for subscribing the declaration of assurance, to all ministers in possession of their benefices at the time of the king's accession, and still in possession of the same without any sentence of deposition or deprivation having been pronounced against them. It was also declared that all who should qualify themselves within the time appointed, and should behave as became ministers of the Gospel in doctrine, life, and conversation, should enjoy the royal protection as to their churches and benefices, they confining themselves within the limits of their parochial charges, and taking no part in ordination or church government, unless duly assumed by a competent ecclesiastical judicatory. And it was provided that the ministers so qualified should be free to apply or not to the ecclesiastical judicatories for admission to a share in the church government, and that those courts should also be free to admit or not to admit them if they should so apply.¹

It was in virtue of this last mentioned act, that many of the parochial clergy continued to retain possession of their benefices. See the *Episcopal Clergy against the authority of the Presbyterian General Assemblies and Committees*, given in to the Committee of the General Assembly at Aberdeen, June 29th, 1694." See also *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. ii. p. 163-171; the Preface to the same volume, p. lxxv.-lxxii.; and *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ix. pp. 367, 389, 411, 412, 423. The papers of the Aberdeen clergy are to be looked upon rather as legal than as ecclesiastical documents; but, even in that point of view, their silence on the subject of Episcopacy, and their appeal to the temporal power which had already established Presbyterianism, admit of no sufficient excuse. These circumstances are pointed out by the zealous Presbyterian who wrote the pamphlet above named. The progress of the new establishment in the diocese of Aberdeen is thus summed up in the second volume of the *Spalding Club Miscellany*:—"In October, 1690, there was but one Presbyterian minister in the Synod of Aberdeen and Banff, containing eight presbyteries and about a hundred parishes; in July, 1694, there were eight; and in April, 1697, there were fifteen. . . . A Presbyterian kirk-session had been formed in Aberdeen on the ninth of July, 1694. And on the twenty-seventh of February, 1704, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to the members of the Presbyterian Church in that city, for the first time since its re-establishment in the year 1690." (Preface, pp. lxxii. lxxiii.)

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ix. pp. 387, 449, 450.

fices. Within three months, more than a hundred took the benefit of its provisions, which were not fettered, as former indulgences had been, with any promise of conformity in doctrine or government to the Church now established by law.¹

The general assembly met at Edinburgh on the seventeenth of December, 1695. One of its acts refers to the increase of scepticism and infidelity. Ministers were exhorted to use their utmost efforts to counteract these pernicious opinions, and to deal seriously with those who were seduced, or in hazard of being perverted, and espécially with the seducers, that after instruction and admonition they might be proceeded against as scandalous and heretical apostates used to be.²

The ministers discharged their duty faithfully in endeavouring to check the pernicious opinions referred to, but, in one instance, some of their number allowed zeal for the truth to degenerate into cruelty and persecution. A young man, not twenty-one years of age, named Thomas Aikenhead, the son of a chirurgion in Edinburgh, was, by special direction of the privy council, tried before the Court of Justiciary, on a charge of blasphemy, and of scoffing at the Holy Scriptures. Before his trial came on, he petitioned the court to stay further proceedings, maintaining his innocence of the worst part of the charge, pleading his youth and inexperience as an excuse for unbecoming language in some points, and solemnly professing his belief in the Trinity, and in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. This appeal was disregarded, and the trial took place at Edinburgh, on the twenty-third of December, 1696. The charges were proved by several young men, chiefly students of the university, with whom Aikenhead had associated; no counsel appeared for him; and, the jury having returned a unanimous verdict of guilty, he was condemned to death, and the execution was appointed to take place on the eighth of January. In a petition to the privy council, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence, but earnestly petitioned for some delay in the execution, in order the better to prepare himself for death. The council was willing to listen to his petition, if the ministers would intercede for

¹ Carstairs' State Papers, p. 263. Burnet, vol. iv. p. 275.

² Acts of Assembly, p. 245-256.

him ; but most of the ministers were opposed to any delay, and the execution took place on the day fixed by the sentence.¹

The general assembly continued to sit regularly during the rest of the reign of William, but few of its proceedings require to be noticed. In January, 1697, an act was passed, commonly known by the name of the Barrier Act, which provided against sudden changes in doctrine, worship, or government, by declaring that, previously to the making of any acts which were to be binding rules and constitutions of the Church, they should first be proposed as overtures to the assembly, and, being passed as such, should be remitted to the consideration of the several

¹ See State Trials, vol. xiii. p. 917-938. The language of Lord Macaulay, (History of England, vol. iv. p. 781-784) in regard to the conduct of the ministers, is exaggerated and unjust, and he seems to be mistaken in thinking that the crime of blasphemy was not clearly proved ; but, in so far as the refusal of the ministers to intercede is concerned, his narrative is substantially borne out by a letter referred to in the correspondence of Francis Horner (2d ed. vol. i. p. 200-202), and printed in the State Trials, written by Lord Anstruther, one of the judges of the supreme court, and a member of the privy council. An attempt has been made to shew that the ministers endeavoured to obtain a pardon for Aikenhead, and, failing in that, a reprieve. The authority on which this is asserted is the statement of a Nonconformist preacher of the name of Lorimer, that some of the Scottish ministers, and particularly George Meldrum, did intercede with the government, and that he himself joined with Meldrum in the intercession. This statement, which was made by Lorimer sixteen years after the event, and apparently to vindicate himself against some charge of having excited the government to severity, cannot outweigh Lord Anstruther's report of what he himself saw and heard, written down before the end of the month in which the execution took place. The true explanation of the two accounts is probably that which is given by Mr. Robert Chambers:—"Mr. Lorimer's and Lord Anstruther's statements are somewhat discrepant, and yet not perhaps irreconcilable. It may be true that, at the last moment, one of the city clergy, accompanied by an English stranger, tried to raise his voice for mercy. It is evident, however, that no very decided effort of the kind was made. For the records of the privy council contain no entry on the subject, although, only three days before Aikenhead's execution, we find in them a reprieve formally granted to one Thomas Weir, sentenced for house-breaking. The statement itself, implying a movement entirely exceptive, only makes the more certain the remarkable fact, derived from Lord Anstruther's statement, that the clergy, *as a body*, did not intercede, but 'spoke and preached for cutting him off,' for which reason the authorities were unable to save him." See Lorimer's Preface to Two Discourses, published at London in 1713, p. iv.-vii. ; "Macaulay on Scotland," a reprint of some articles in the "The Witness" newspaper ; and Chambers's Domestic Annals of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 160-166. The tenor of two acts of Assembly in 1697, the one against profaneness, the other against the Deists, passed within a few days after the execution of Aikenhead, is not favourable to the view of those who contend for the ministers' lenity ; see Acts of Assembly, pp. 261, 262, 267.

presbyteries, and their opinions and consent reported to the next assembly, which might then give a final sanction to them, if the Church had generally agreed to the same.

On the fifth of March, 1701, the assembly formally condemned a work, entitled "An Apology for Madame Antonia Bourignon," attributed to Dr. George Garden. On the same day, they proceeded to pass sentence against the supposed author. Dr. Garden had been summoned before the commission of last assembly, and having appeared, and been questioned in regard to his connection with the Apology, and the opinions maintained in it, had not disavowed the authorship, and had asserted the general excellence of the work, and declared his high esteem for the writings of Madame Bourignon. He had in consequence been suspended by the commission from his office of the ministry, and been cited to appear in presence of the assembly. As he did not appear to answer to this citation, the assembly, on account both of his erroneous opinions, and of his contumacy, deposed him from his office of the ministry, and prohibited him from the farther exercise of it.¹

The proceedings in Dr. Garden's case illustrate the jurisdiction to which the assembly laid claim. He had formerly been one of the ministers of St. Nicholas' Church at Aberdeen, and had been deprived for not complying with the existing laws; but, though he no longer held a benefice, the assembly, in virtue of the power which it claimed to judge in all questions of doctrine and morals, deposed him from his ecclesiastical functions. He paid no regard to the sentence, and continued to officiate as before to the members of his congregation at Aberdeen who adhered to Episcopacy.

There can be no doubt that Dr. George Garden, in other respects a man of piety and learning, had become a convert to the opinions of Madame Bourignon, or, at least, had adopted them in part. Like many good men of that time, he was weary of the controversies by which his country was distracted, and unhappily sought refuge in a system which promised spiritual consolation and repose. His brother, Dr. James Garden, the deprived Professor of Divinity in King's College,

¹ Acts of Assembly, pp. 260, 261, 306-308.

appears to have shared his love of mystical theology, but without falling into errors of doctrine.

King William died on the eighth of March, 1702. The decease of King James had taken place in September of the previous year.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING WILLIAM IN MARCH, 1702, TO THE UNION OF
ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND IN MAY, 1707.

Accession of Queen Anne—Progress of Presbyterianism—Condition of the Episcopal Clergy—Their relations to the Bishops—Condition of the Roman Catholics—Account of Thomas Innes—Condition of the Quakers—Condition of the Camerónians—The members of the Episcopal Church attempt to obtain a Toleration—Remonstrance by the Commission of the General Assembly—Death of Archbishop Ross—Resolution of the surviving Bishops to continue the Episcopal Succession—Account of John Sage—Consecration of John Sage and John Fullarton—Alleged metropolitan jurisdiction of the Bishop of Edinburgh—Union of England and Scotland.

KING WILLIAM was succeeded by Anne, daughter of the late King James. The new sovereign was known to be strongly attached to the polity and ritual of the English Church, and was supposed to be favourable to the principle of hereditary right, so far as it could be reconciled with her own possession of the throne. This, while it excited some distrust among the Presbyterians, raised the hopes of the adherents of Episcopacy ; but, for some years, no change took place in connection with ecclesiastical matters.

The Presbyterian establishment continued slowly to increase in strength and numbers, and to make its way even in those districts which were the stronghold of Episcopacy. The statute of 1695 protected the rights of such parochial incumbents as had taken the oaths, though even they were frequently harassed by the courts of the Established Church, on charges, real or pretended, of unsoundness in doctrine, or of corruption in morals. As the clergy of this privileged class were removed by death, their places were generally filled by Presbyterian ministers, though, in some instances, Episcopal clergymen were inducted into the vacant benefices in defiance

of the laws, or because the establishment was unable to find successors among its own probationers. The general assembly endeavoured to supply the want of regular pastors, in the many destitute parishes of the North, by sending ministers to itinerate among them from other parts of the kingdom; but this expedient was merely a temporary one, and, in remote places, the people, where not under the superintendence of the Episcopal clergy, were almost entirely deprived of the ordinances of religion.

During the latter years of William, and the beginning of the reign of Anne, the Episcopal clergy were divided into three classes. One was composed of the ministers who had taken the oaths, and remained in possession of their former benefices. They alone were tolerated by law; all the rest were forbidden, under severe penalties, to exercise any part of their ministerial office. The second class included those ministers who had taken the oath of allegiance to the reigning sovereign, but were not in possession of parochial cures. Most of them officiated in meeting-houses; but they were at any time liable to prosecution, and to have their places of worship shut up. As they disclaimed allegiance to the exiled family, they were rather objects of jealousy to the Presbyterian establishment, than of suspicion to the civil government. The third class comprehended all the prelates, and a majority of the whole body of the clergy. They were avowed Nonjurors, and were carefully watched both by the secular and by the ecclesiastical authorities. Even they, however, were not absolutely prohibited from officiating in private houses, or in rooms set apart for the purpose; but it was always at the risk of being apprehended, and subjected to the penalties to which they were liable, both as Nonjurors and as Nonconformists.¹

The ecclesiastical position of the surviving prelates was of a very peculiar nature. As formerly mentioned, no attempt was

¹ It was probably to the Nonjuring meeting-houses at Edinburgh that the Lord Justice Clerk, Cockburn of Ormiston, made the following reference in a letter to Carstairs, in March, 1696:—"The dissenting ministers that preach in Edinburgh are most of them taken up by the council's orders. The field-meetings formerly were called 'the rendezvous of rebellion,' and, I assure you, the conventicles now in Edinburgh are 'the nests of disaffection.' And therefore, as far as law will go, I wish them all banished out of town." (Carstairs' State Papers, p. 288.)

made to keep up a regular system of diocesan government. But, so far as circumstances permitted, the bishops gave obedience to the primate, and the clergy to the bishops; and, in this respect, there was no difference between the disestablished clergy who took the oaths, and those who declined to take them. It is not very clear how far the incumbents protected by law, and in possession of their benefices, acted on the old ecclesiastical principle. Such of them as were jealous of episcopal authority, or were afraid of incurring the forfeiture of their privileges, by joining in ordinations with the deprived bishops, or by otherwise acknowledging their jurisdiction, would shun all connection of this kind; but it is probable that most of them continued to obey their former superiors. By the great body of the laity who adhered to the house of Stewart, the bishops were revered, not only as the governors of the Church, but as confessors in the cause of loyalty; while those who took the oaths respected them on account of their former station, and were prepared to acknowledge their full authority whenever a favourable change of circumstances should lead to the re-establishment or the toleration of Episcopacy.

Some remarks may be made at this place on the condition of the other religious communities in Scotland. There has hardly been occasion, during the history of many years, to refer to the adherents of the Church of Rome, except in connection with the attempts of King James to procure a toleration for them. A few of the ancient nobility and gentry still belonged to the Roman communion, and, in the Highlands and Isles, some clans, following the example of their chiefs, nominally professed its opinions; but in the Lowlands its influence was at an end. The penal laws had effectually done their work, and had reduced the Roman Catholics from a powerful body to an insignificant and scattered remnant. It was not that the cruel provisions of those statutes were literally enforced; but the civil disabilities, the proscription of their worship, and the constant and harassing annoyances to which they were exposed, were more fatal to them, as they afterwards were to the adherents of Protestant Episcopacy, than direct persecution would have been. It was, however, during the reign of William that, for the first time since the Reformation, a Roman Catholic bishop was named for Scotland.

Thomas Nicholson, of the family of Kemnay in Aberdeenshire, titular Bishop of Peristochium, was appointed vicar apostolic by the Pope in 1694, and was entrusted, in that capacity, with the superintendence of the clergy and laity of the Roman communion.

Four years afterwards, the Scottish mission numbered among its priests one to whom, more perhaps than to any other person, his countrymen are indebted for pointing out to them the true sources of their ecclesiastical history—Thomas Innes, the author of the *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*. He was born at Drumgask, in the parish of Aboyne and county of Aberdeen, in 1662. He belonged to a respectable family which had adhered to the Roman communion, and his elder brother Lewis was Principal of the Scots College at Paris, and a confidential counsellor of King James during his residence in France. Thomas Innes was educated at the University of Paris; was ordained a priest in 1691; and officiated for three years at Inveravon, in the diocese of Murray. He returned to France in 1701, and from that time resided chiefly in the Scots College. His *Critical Essay* was published at London in 1729; and he died at Paris on the twenty-eighth of January, 1744, being then in the eighty-second year of his age.¹

The Quaker sect, which, during the reign of Charles the Second, appeared likely to become numerous, had fallen off, as the early fervour of its disciples abated, and its first teachers were removed by death. There was still, however, a number of respectable families in connection with the society, especially in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, where, for several generations, the Barclays and Jaffrays continued to be among its leading members. One of the most distinguished of the Scottish Quakers was George Keith, a native of Aberdeen, and educated at the university there. He wrote many treatises in support of the doctrines of his sect; but, having emigrated to Pennsylvania, he forsook his errors, and joined the English Church. He was afterwards ordained, and became one of the most active and successful of the American missionaries.

¹ See a biographical notice of Thomas Innes, in the Preface to his *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, p. ix-xv.

The Cameronians of the western counties, deserted by their preachers who had conformed to the establishment, remained a separate sect, protesting against the national defection in departing from the obligations of the Covenants. Having been joined at a subsequent period by some discontented Presbyterian ministers, they were enabled to assume the appearance of an ecclesiastical community; but, prior to that event, they kept up their principles by meeting together occasionally, and by promulgating documents, as extravagant, if not as mischievous, as those which attracted so much attention before the Revolution.

In terms of a special statute, the parliament elected in the year 1689, and which had continued to sit during the whole reign of William, again met after the accession of Queen Anne. Nothing of importance in connection with ecclesiastical matters took place during this session, and a new parliament was summoned soon afterwards—the last which was elected for Scotland as an independent kingdom. The estates met on the sixth of May, 1703, and the Duke of Queensberry was the royal commissioner. Many members had been returned who were favourable to Episcopacy, and an attempt was made to obtain some sort of toleration for those who adhered to the dis-established Church. Relying on the personal good-will of the queen, the clergy had presented a petition to her majesty entreating her favour and protection, and had received a gracious answer. The queen had also written to the privy council, that she had been informed there were many dissenters in Scotland, who, though differing from the establishment as to church government, were of the Protestant Reformed religion, some in possession of benefices, and others worshipping in meeting-houses; and expressing her wish that they should be directed to live submissively to the laws, and decently in relation to the established Church, and, in so doing, that they should be protected in the peaceable exercise of their religion.

Encouraged probably by these general assurances, the Earl of Strathmore proposed in parliament that a toleration should be granted to all Protestants in the exercise of religious worship. Against this measure a representation was given in by the commission of the general assembly. The moderator who

signed this paper was George Meldrum, who, after the Restoration, had refused for some time to conform to Episcopacy, though he afterwards submitted to his ordinary, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and who, at a subsequent period, resigned his benefice rather than comply with the Test of 1681. The opinions of the commission in regard to any concession to Episcopacy may be judged of from the following passage:—"We do, therefore, most humbly beseech, yea, we are bold in the Lord, and in the name of the Church of God in this land, earnestly to obtest your grace, and the most honourable estates, that no such motion of any legal toleration to those of the prelatical principles be entertained by the parliament; being persuaded that, in the present case and circumstances of this Church and nation, to enact a toleration for those of that way, (which God of his infinite mercy avert,) would be to establish iniquity by a law, and would bring upon the promoters thereof, and upon their families, the dreadful guilt of all those sins, and pernicious effects both to Church and State, that may ensue thereupon."

The parliament took no further steps in the matter. The chief promoters of the measure do not seem to have insisted upon it, and the attention of the members was almost wholly taken up with plans for vindicating the national independence. The discussion, however, was carried on by means of the press, and numerous pamphlets were published, the chief writers of which, on the one side, were Sage and Dr. George Garden, on the other, George Meldrum.¹

From this time till the treaty of union came to be discussed, there is nothing in the proceedings of the estates which calls for particular notice, and the acts of the general assembly are equally void of interest; but, in the beginning of the year 1705, an event took place of the utmost importance in the history of Scottish Episcopacy.

As formerly mentioned, Archbishop Ross died in June, 1704; and, with him, the primacy and the metropolitan jurisdiction of the see of St. Andrews were at an end, no attempt being made at this time to continue them, although their pre-

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. xi. pp. 46, 47, and appendix, p. 15. Burton, vol. i. p. 354-356. Stephen, vol. iii. p. 640-643. Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 66. Sage's Reasonableness of a Toleration, ed. 1705, preface.

servation afforded the best means of maintaining ecclesiastical unity. The prelates and clergy may have declined taking such a step from their dread of the civil government; but they were probably still more under the influence of the opinion which they continued to entertain, that such a proceeding would be an infringement of the prerogatives of him whom most of them acknowledged as their sovereign, and whose sanction they held to be necessary to the assumption of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The episcopal, metropolitan, and primatial rights of the see of St. Andrews were therefore allowed to remain in abeyance, till a fit opportunity should be found for restoring them. But the attention of the bishops was directed to another point which admitted of no delay. Of the prelates in possession of sees at the Revolution, five only, besides Bishop Gordon of Galloway who^d had joined the Roman communion, now survived—the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Bishops of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Murray, and Dunblane. One of these, the Bishop of Murray, was almost entirely disabled by bodily infirmity; and it became a matter of anxious consideration what was to be done for the continuance of the episcopal succession. The government of the Church might remain in its present irregular condition till better times should return, but it was indispensable, in the meantime, to provide for the preservation of the episcopate itself, and for the ordination of the clergy, which depended upon it.

Those who entertained the highest opinions regarding the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical did not believe that it extended to the essentials of the faith or discipline of the Church. They therefore held that the consecration of bishops might be provided for by the Church herself, when circumstances required, if no distinct territory were assigned to the new prelates within which to exercise their jurisdiction. The expedient which most naturally occurred to the Scottish bishops was, to raise certain individuals to the episcopal office, without committing any particular diocese to their rule. It was thought that the succession of the highest order, and the continuance of the inferior degrees of the ministry, would thus be preserved, while the sovereign's privilege of nominating to the vacant sees would not be interfered with.

Such appear to have been the principles on which the bishops acted at this time. The expedient which they adopted was resorted to only as a temporary one, and they could hardly anticipate that it would be proposed to continue it as a system. Undoubtedly, however, the course which they adopted was irregular and unwise. Their error in this respect, like other parts of their conduct before and after the change of dynasty, arose from their exaggerated notion of the royal prerogative—an opinion which neither the exile of their prince, nor his open profession of a different religious belief, had yet been able to diminish.

From the time that Episcopacy was overthrown at the Revolution, the bishops had hardly taken any open part in ecclesiastical affairs. Indeed the great body of the Nonjuring clergy shrunk from notice as far as possible; the struggle for toleration, or partial establishment, being chiefly maintained by those who took the oaths. It was otherwise in regard to the step now to be taken. In the choice of the persons selected as the fittest to receive consecration, the bishops seem, to a considerable extent, to have acted on their own responsibility, and to have relied on their own judgment. A canonical election there could not be, because the forms applicable to it bore reference to a particular diocese; but, in regard to the propriety of the step itself, though not perhaps in regard to the persons fixed upon, the leading men among the clergy and laity were consulted. It was resolved that only two clergymen should be raised to the episcopal order at this time; and the two selected were John Sage, and John Fullarton, the former of whom, before the Revolution, had been one of the ministers of Glasgow, and the latter one of the ministers of Paisley. Whatever may be thought of the regularity of the proceeding itself, there can be no doubt as to the fitness of the persons chosen. Both Sage and Fullarton were men of piety and worth. The attainments of the latter were respectable; but those of the former were far beyond what was generally found among the divines of that period, and his personal history deserves special notice.

John Sage was born at Creich, in the county of Fife, in the year 1652. His father was a royalist, and captain in one of the regiments which formed the garrison of Dundee when it

was stormed by Monk. The elder Sage escaped on that occasion, and, notwithstanding the poverty to which like most of the adherents of monarchy he was reduced, was able to send his son to be educated at St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews. As soon as Sage left the university, he was obliged to labour for his own support. He was for some time parish-schoolmaster at Ballingray, in his native county, and afterwards at Tippermuir, in Perthshire. He exchanged that situation for the more congenial one of tutor to the sons of a gentleman of the house of Drummond; and, while residing in this family, he became acquainted with Bishop Rose, then one of the ministers of Perth. It was through this acquaintance that he was subsequently led to devote himself to the ministry of the Church. At the mature age of thirty-two, he was ordained by Archbishop Ross of Glasgow, and appointed to one of the incumbencies of that city. The zeal and learning of Sage soon acquired for him a well-merited reputation; and, on a vacancy taking place in the professorship of divinity at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, in the year 1688, he was recommended for that office by Archbishop Ross, then primate, and a presentation was made out in his favour, which was not completed in consequence of the overthrow of the government.

When the western clergy were ejected from their cures by the Cameronians, Sage retired to Edinburgh. He officiated in one of the meeting-houses of the capital, and distinguished himself by the composition of some of those pamphlets in which the suffering clergy were defended, and afterwards by works of a more permanent character—the “Principles of the Cyprianic Age,” and the Vindication of the Principles, in which he maintained the divine right of Episcopacy. His talents and activity rendered him an object of jealousy to the new establishment. He was summoned before the privy council, and, having declined to take the oath of allegiance and subscribe the assurance, was banished from Edinburgh. He retired to the town of Kinross, where he enjoyed the society of Henry Christie, the deprived incumbent, and of Sir William Bruce, a faithful adherent of the hierarchy. In the year 1696, when Sir William was committed to ward in Edinburgh Castle, a warrant was likewise issued for the apprehension of Sage, and

he was obliged to seek concealment for some time among the hills of Angus. At the time that he was raised to the episcopate, he was residing as chaplain in the house of Sir John Stewart of Grandtully.

Sage and Fullarton were consecrated on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, in the year 1705, in an oratory within Archbishop Paterson's house at Edinburgh. The consecrating prelates were the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Bishops of Edinburgh and Dunblane. As the new bishops were not to possess diocesan jurisdiction, it was stipulated that, during the lifetime of the former prelates, they were to have no share in the general government of the Church, but only to assist in consecrations and ordinations, and to give their counsel and aid when required.

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 518-521. Skinner, vol. ii. pp. 602, 603. Life of Sage, prefixed to the Spottiswood Society edition of his Works, vol. i. p. vi.-liii. MS. Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland from the Revolution—in the Scottish Episcopal Church Library at Edinburgh—p. 3. The following account is given in a letter sent from Scotland to Matthias Symson, Canon of Lincoln:—"When they [the adherents of Episcopacy in North Britain] found themselves quite deserted and given up by the magistrate, their places and offices being suppressed, or given to men whose religious principles were directly opposite, contradictory to, and destructive of theirs, having no hope of being restored or countenanced, nor receiving direction or leave from authority how to behave in a religious or ecclesiastic capacity; the ancient surviving bishops—with approbation of the leading men both of the clergy and laity, upon mature deliberation, and fervent prayer for God's blessing and direction, without any disturbance, resistance, or breach of the peace, not setting up a new Church, nor separating from any, with whom they were in communion before—asserted the necessity and expediency of exerting the power they had from God, not to destruction but to edification; and rather than hide their talent in a napkin, and put their lights under a bushel; rather than leave the flock of Christ without shepherds, or expose them to ravenous wolves after their departure; not being afraid of what they might suffer for well-doing, and trusting to His assistance, who promised to be with His ministers to the end of the world; like true old Catholic bishops, they conveyed that depositum and sacred order they had received to worthy men of good report, whom they consecrated bishops. Thereby these faithful humble confessors for the apostolical government of Christ's Church continued a true succession in the ministry; but whether or no they appointed them to particular dioceses or districts, is not so commonly known, nor is it necessary it should. The conveyance of the character is sufficient to enable them validly to perform spiritual offices; and it is hoped their prudence and duty will noways encroach on the civil or higher powers, nor interfere with one another among themselves." (Symson's Present State of Scotland, pp. 245, 246.) There is an attested copy of Bishop Sage's deed of consecration among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, not numbered in the Catalogue. It is printed in a note to Keith's

It has frequently been asserted that, after the death of Archbishop Ross, the Bishop of Edinburgh exercised metropolitan jurisdiction under the ancient title of *Primus Scotiae Episcopus*, or, as vicar-general, during the vacancy, of the see of St. Andrews. The statement is inaccurate. Bishop Rose never took the former title; and, though he assumed the style of vicar-general of St. Andrews on the decease of Archbishop Ross, and afterwards, either in that character, or on other grounds, exercised metropolitan authority over the whole Church, no such claim was put forth for some years. While the Archbishop of Glasgow survived, that prelate was the metropolitan of his own province, and in all episcopal acts took precedence of Bishop Rose. The very name of vicar-general of St. Andrews, thus claimed for the Bishop of Edinburgh, appears to have had no direct sanction. By the charter of erection of the latter see, its bishop was to be a suffragan to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and, because of the constant assistance which he was to give to his metropolitan so as in some measure to discharge the duties of his chancellor, he was to take precedence of all prelates in the kingdom, except the two archbishops; just as it was also appointed that the Bishop of Galloway, as assist-

Catalogue (p. 518). The deed has an interest which documents of that character seldom possess. It is as follows:—"Apud Edinburgum, die vicesimo quinto mensis Januarii, anno ab incarnato Domino et Servatore nostro millesimo septingentesimo quinto; Nos, Joannes, providentia divina, Archiepiscopus Glasguensis, Alexander, miseratione divina, Episcopus Edinburgensis, et Robertus, miseratione divina, Episcopus Dunblanensis, in timore Domini ponderantes plebsque fratrum nostrorum carissimorum et in collegio episcopali collegarum (hoc nupere elapso et Ecclesiae nostrae luctuoso curriculo) in Domino obdormiisse, nosque perpaucos, qui divina misericordia superstites sumus, multiplicibus curis, morbis, atque ingravescente senio, tantum non confectos esse; Quapropter, ex eo quod Deo supremo, Servatori nostro, sacrosanctae Ejus Ecclesiae, et posteris debemus, in animum induximus, officium, characterem, et facultatem episcopalem, aliis probis, fidelibus, ad docendum et regendum idoneis hominibus committere; inter quos, quum nobis ex propria scientia constet reverendum nostrum fratrem, Joannem Sage, artium magistrum, et presbyterum Glasguensem, tanto muneri aptum et idoneum esse; nos igitur, divini muneris praesidio freti, secundum gratiam nobis concessam, die, mensi, anno, suprascriptis, in sacrario domus Archiepiscopi Glasguensis, supradictum Joannem Sage, ordinavimus, consecravimus, et in nostrum episcopale collegium cooptavimus. In cujus rei testimonium, sigilla Joannis, Archiepiscopi Glasguensis, et Alexandri, Episcopi Edinburgensis, (sedis Sancti Andreae nunc vacantis vicarii,) huic instrumento (chirographis nostris prius munito) appendi mandavimus. Jo. Glasguen. Alex. Edinburgen. Ro. Dunblan."

ing the Archbishop of Glasgow in the same way, was to take precedence immediately after the Bishop of Edinburgh. But this did not confer or imply a right of jurisdiction during the vacancy of the primatial see ; and, according to ancient rules, the vicarial powers would have been exercised, not by the Bishop of Edinburgh, but by the dean and chapter of St. Andrews, as coming in place of the prior and convent of the Augustinian monastery. The origin of the name of vicar-general, claimed by the Bishop of Edinburgh, is probably to be found in the act of parliament of 1617, which provided a chapter for the archdiocese of St. Andrews. In that act, the Bishop of Dunkeld was declared to be vicar-general for convening the electors ; an office which is explained by the like powers conferred on the Bishop of Galloway in the province of Glasgow, though the latter prelate is more correctly styled simply convener of the electors. When the see of Edinburgh was erected by King Charles the First, its bishops may naturally have laid claim to the titles and prerogatives formerly possessed by the Bishops of Dunkeld in virtue of the act of 1617.

But whatever the origin of the claim may have been, we find Bishop Rose assuming the title of vicar of the see of St. Andrews in Sage's deed of consecration. When Archbishop Paterson died a few years afterwards, the Bishop of Edinburgh had the right of precedence of all the other prelates ; and, on the death of Bishop Douglas of Dunblane in 1716, when he became the only survivor of the diocesan bishops, his authority was still more fully established. He had then, in virtue of the arrangement made at the consecration of Sage and Fullarton, the sole power of government. He was not only the Primate and Metropolitan, but, so far as jurisdiction was concerned, the Bishop of the whole Church—*Episcopus Scotorum*. The influence which his station thus gave him was increased by his ability and his virtues ; and, in his later years, Bishop Rose possessed an ecclesiastical authority in his own communion, unlike anything which had been known in Scotland since the time of the first successors of St. Columba.¹

¹ See Charter of Erection of the See of Edinburgh—Keith's Catalogue, p. 49 ; and Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 530. See also Stephen, vol. iv. pp. 1, 2.

The deliberations of the bishops, which ended in the resolution to preserve the succession of their order, were held in secret, and were carried into effect with as much privacy as possible; nor was it generally known at the time that such an event as the consecration of Sage and Fullarton had taken place. It would not have been safe for those concerned to proceed in a different manner. The government at this time was particularly desirous to conciliate the Presbyterians, in order to gain their support to the measure contemplated for the union of England and Scotland into one kingdom. Since the accession of James the Sixth to the English crown, various attempts had been made to effect a union. The condition of Scotland now rendered such a measure more necessary than before, and the statesmen, by whom the counsels of Queen Anne were directed, were using their utmost efforts to procure its accomplishment.

The union was unpopular with the great body of the Scottish nation. The Jacobites were opposed to it, because it was unfavourable to their design of restoring the male line of the house of Stewart; the Cameronians resisted a measure that brought them into closer connection with a kingdom in which Prelacy was established by law; many even of the moderate Presbyterians were afraid of the influence which the English hierarchy might thereby acquire; and the common people looked upon it as fatal to the independence of their country. Notwithstanding the efforts of those various parties, the government was successful in first carrying through the treaty of union, and afterwards in procuring its confirmation by the parliaments of both kingdoms.

It is necessary here to mention only those provisions of the union which referred to religion and church government. A special statute was passed, entitled "An Act for securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government." It provided that the true Protestant religion, and the worship, discipline, and government of the Church, as then established by law, should continue without any alteration in time to come; and it confirmed the act of William and Mary ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling the Presbyterian church government. It also declared that the Universities and Colleges of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edin-

burgh, should continue for ever ; and that, in all time coming, no principals, professors, masters, or other office-bearers in any university, college, or school, should be capable of being admitted, unless they acknowledged the civil government in terms of the statutes, and also subscribed the foresaid Confession, as the confession of their faith, and promised to conform to the worship, and submit to the government and discipline of the Church established by law. It was declared that no one within the Scottish kingdom should be liable to any oath, test, or subscription, inconsistent with the foresaid true Protestant religion, and Presbyterian government and worship ; and that every future sovereign succeeding to the throne of Great Britain should, at his accession, swear and subscribe that he would inviolably maintain and preserve the foresaid settlement of religion, government, worship, and discipline. And these enactments were declared to be a fundamental and essential condition of the treaty.¹

The union was formally ratified by the Scottish parliament on the sixteenth of January, 1707 ; on the sixth of March, it received the assent of the sovereign as Queen of England ; and it came into actual operation on the first of May.

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. xi. pp. 402, 403, 413, 414.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

FROM THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND IN MAY, 1707, TO THE
DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE IN AUGUST, 1714.

Consecration of Bishops Falconer and Christie—Consecration of Bishop Campbell—Consecration of Bishop Gadderar—Use of the Book of Common Prayer—Act of the General Assembly against innovations in Worship—Case of James Greenshields—Toleration Act in favour of Episcopacy—Restoration of Patronage—Address by the clergy of Aberdeen to Queen Anne—Character of Carstairs—Increasing Use of Liturgical forms—Death of Queen Anne.

By the death of Bishop Hay and Archbishop Paterson, the number of the Scottish prelates was again reduced to five; and it was thought expedient to raise other two to the episcopate, on the same conditions that had been laid down in the case of the former consecration. The illness of Bishop Douglas made this the more necessary. Dundee, the residence of that prelate, was fixed upon as the place of ordination, and there, on the twenty-eighth of April, 1709, John Falconer, the deprived minister of Carnbee in Fife, and Henry Christie, the friend of Sage, were consecrated by the Bishops of Edinburgh and Dunblane, and Bishop Sage. The prelates were still obliged to act with caution. Their meeting was arranged with as much secrecy as possible, and nothing certain is known of the particular circumstances of the consecration. To use the language of a writer, who has elucidated the history of Bishop Falconer from the original documents among the Papers of the Episcopal Church, the prelates celebrated "with a mournful privacy the most august solemnity of the Catholic Church. Their rites were shorn of the old cathedral splendour; their 'Veni Creator' must be murmured like a 'voice out of the dust.' But they had with them still the eternal Pontiff, and the unfailing powers of his kingdom. They were speaking his words, and doing his work—rather He was working by them. And it was doubt-

less in full assurance of having Him for their unseen Consecrator, that Falconer and Christie knelt before those worn old men, to receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of Bishops in the Church of God."

There will afterwards be occasion to refer particularly to Bishop Falconer. Bishop Christie is uniformly spoken of as a person of the most exemplary character. He died in the year 1718. The episcopate of Sage was of a still more brief duration. Study and hardship had brought on premature infirmities, and he sought for relief in vain by a journey to Bath. Returning to his own country, he died at Edinburgh, on the seventeenth of June, 1711, and was buried in the churchyard of the Greyfriars.¹

Another consecration took place soon after the death of Sage. On St. Bartholomew's day, 1711, Archibald Campbell was consecrated at Dundee, by the Bishops of Edinburgh and Dunblane, and Bishop Falconer. The personal history of the new prelate was a remarkable one. He was son of Lord Neil Campbell, and grandson of the famous Covenanting leader, Archibald, Marquis of Argyll. He joined his uncle, the Earl of Argyll, in his insurrection against King James the Seventh, and was taken prisoner; but his life was spared on condition of his abjuring all rebellious principles, and going into exile. He resided for some time in Surinam, and, when he returned to Britain, his opinions were entirely changed. He was now a zealous defender of the rights of the house of Stewart; declined to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary; and joined the communion of the Nonjurors. Fixing his resi-

¹ Bishop Falconer's deed of consecration, among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, No. R. 10, of the Catalogue. Attested copy of Bishop Christie's deed of consecration, in the same collection, not numbered in the Catalogue. MS. Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, p. 3. Keith's Catalogue, pp. 521, 522. Life of Sage, prefixed to his Works, p. liii.-lv. In a note to the Life of Sage, p. lvii., will be found a list of his writings. See also "Bishop John Falconer and his Friends"—a series of articles drawn chiefly from the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and understood to be written by the Rev. William Bright—Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal, vol. ii. p. 242-244. A letter there quoted, from Bishop Rose to Falconer, dated 15th April, 1709, may be given at length, as marking the caution necessary in connection with the consecration:—"Our friend at Dundee has been very ill, not fit for business. I myself these six or seven weeks bygone have been much disordered by a violent sickness in my stomach. But I hope to be in condition to wait upon you at Dundee against the 26th or 27th of this month, in order to what you

dence at London, he devoted himself to the study of theology, and was ordained a priest. After his consecration he continued to reside in England; and it would appear that he owed his elevation rather to his rank and learning, than to any direct assistance which could be expected from him as a colleague of the Scottish bishops. In that respect at least, if not also on the ground of certain peculiar theological opinions entertained by Bishop Campbell, his consecration was an ill-advised proceeding.¹

The next consecration shewed yet more strongly the closeness of the relations now existing between the Scottish and English Nonjurors. James Gadderar, formerly minister at Kilmalcolm, in the diocese of Glasgow, an intimate friend of Bishop Campbell, and, like him, residing in England, was consecrated at London, on the feast of St. Matthias, 1712, by Bishop Hicke, and the Scottish bishops, Falconer and Campbell. Dr. Hicke, the deprived Dean of Worcester, was now the most influential ecclesiastic among the English Nonjurors; and, both from community of principle, and from his former connection with Scotland while chaplain to the Duke of Lauderdale, he was on terms of friendship with most of the northern prelates. He had himself been consecrated as suffragan of Thetford by the deprived English bishops, on their determining to keep up the episcopal succession in the Nonjuring communion.²

The consecration of Bishop Gadderar took place with the full approbation of Bishop Rose and the other Scottish prelates; but the act was irregular, apparently identifying the

know of. If my health serve me not, I will signify so much to you next week, but, if you hear nothing from me, be sure to keep tryst on the 26th, when I hope to be at Dundee."

¹ Attested copy of the deed of consecration, among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, No. R. 13, of the Catalogue. MS. *Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland*, p. 4. Keith's Catalogue, p. 530. Wodrow, vol. iv. p. 320. Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, Carruthers' ed. p. 284.

² Deed of consecration, among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, No. R. 14, of the Catalogue. Keith's Catalogue, p. 531. MS. *Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland*, p. 7. All the Scottish ecclesiastical historians speak of Gadderar as formerly minister of Kilmaurs. But this is a mistake. In the appendix to the *Life of Kettlewell*, p. xxxv., he is called Rector of Kilmalcolm; and, in his deed of consecration, he is styled Rector of Kilmalcolm, in the diocese of Glasgow.

cause of Episcopacy in Scotland with that of the English Nonjurors, from which it differed in several important respects, and was the commencement of a course of proceedings which involved the northern Church in disputes with which it had no direct concern. In the very year following the consecration of Bishop Gadderar, Dr. Hickes was enabled to preserve the Nonjuring succession in England, which otherwise could not have been canonically continued, by the assistance of Campbell and Gadderar, who took part in consecrating Collier, Spinckes, and Hawes. The same Scottish prelates, and several of their brethren, afterwards assisted at other English consecrations; but there is no instance, except that of Bishop Hickes just mentioned, of an English Nonjuring bishop joining in the consecration of a Scottish prelate.

One of the most important ecclesiastical changes which marked the reign of Queen Anne was the gradual restoration of liturgical services in Scotland. It has been seen that little was done to improve the worship of the established Church during the reign of Charles the Second; and that the first manifestation of feeling in favour of the Book of Common Prayer was its reception by many of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, when it was used by Dr. Monro and others during the troubled period immediately after the Revolution. The clergy were generally favourable to the introduction of the English Service; and, among the higher and educated classes, there was a strong wish to get quit of the irregular extemporary worship, and to substitute the solemn ritual, to which they were accustomed while residing in England, and which they used in the private devotions of their families. But the prejudices of the adherents of Episcopacy among the common people were frequently opposed to what they considered an unauthorised change; and the ecclesiastical courts of the establishment made every effort to prevent the use of a service, the introduction of which they viewed with dislike and fear.

Notwithstanding the prejudices of some, and the open resistance of others, the increasing success of the new ecclesiastical movement shews that a great change had taken place in the opinions of many. In 1703, the Book of Common Prayer was used at Glasgow by clergymen who took the oaths to Queen Anne, and the place where the congregation met was in

consequence attacked by a riotous mob. In the North, there was no reason to dread the violent opposition of the people. In the year 1709, the Liturgy had been introduced at Montrose, Aberdeen, Elgin, Inverness, and many other places. The use of the office for the Burial of the Dead had become common among the nobility. In a letter written in November, 1709, a correspondent of Wodrow refers to the funeral of one of the family of Strathmore, at which that office was used, to the great satisfaction of the neighbouring gentry, almost all the clergy of Angus attending in their canonical gowns. A still bolder, though a manifestly illegal step, was taken by Dr. Middleton, the Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and the Earl of Errol, the Chancellor of the University. The English Liturgy was introduced into the college chapel, and the services there were frequented, not only by the masters and students, but by the inhabitants of Old Aberdeen. The chapel, however, was shut up by order of the Lord Advocate, with the approbation of the Secretary of State.¹

The forms of worship thus introduced in Scotland were those of the English Book of Common Prayer, not of the Service Book compiled for the use of the Church of Scotland in the reign of Charles the First. As formerly explained, the two books differed little, except in the office for the celebration of the Holy Communion. It does not precisely appear what liturgical office—in the strict sense of the word—was used by the congregations which thus adopted the Book of Common Prayer in their ordinary worship. Some undoubtedly used the English office, others preferred that in King Charles's Book; and, within a few years after the period referred to, may be traced the commencement of that peculiar arrangement and adaptation of liturgical forms, which afterwards became known as the Scottish Communion Office. The chief cause

¹ See Somerville's History of the reign of Queen Anne, p. 468; Wodrow Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 30, 79; Stephen, vol. iv. p. 64-66; MS. Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, p. 4. The shutting up of the chapel of King's College is evidently the same circumstance which is related in a contemporary pamphlet, entitled "Short Account of the Grievances of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland," printed in the second volume of the Spottiswood Miscellany. The writer of this pamphlet carefully conceals the fact that the place shut up was the college chapel, which could not legally be used for the celebration of worship different from that of the established Church.

why the English Prayer Book as a whole was adopted, rather than the Scottish one, was the advantage which the adherents of Episcopacy thus had of appealing more effectually to the sympathy and support of the powerful hierarchy of England. The principle which subsequently led to the adoption of a different Eucharistic use was of a higher kind, and was connected with important questions of doctrine, which will afterwards be more particularly explained.

The alarm which these so called innovations excited in the ministers of the establishment led to the passing of a special act by the general assembly of 1707. It was to the following effect:—"The general assembly of this Church, taking into their serious consideration that the purity of religion, and particularly of divine worship, and uniformity therein, is a signal blessing to the Church of God, and that it hath been the great happiness of this Church, ever since her reformation from Popery, to have enjoyed and maintained the same in a great measure, and that any attempts made for the introduction of innovations in the worship of God therein have been of fatal and dangerous consequence; like as by the fifth act of the parliament, anno 1690, and twenty-third act of the parliament 1693 years, and the act lately passed for security of the present church establishment, the foresaid purity and uniformity of worship are expressly provided for, and being well informed by representations sent from several presbyteries of this Church, that innovations, particularly in the public worship of God, are of late set up in some places in public assemblies within their respective bounds, and that endeavours are used to promote the same by persons of known disaffection to the present establishment both of Church and State, the introduction of which was not so much as once attempted even during the late Prelacy; and considering also that such innovations are dangerous to this Church, and manifestly contrary to our known principle, (which is, that nothing is to be admitted in the worship of God but what is prescribed in the Holy Scriptures,) to the constant practice of this Church, and against the good and laudable laws made since the late happy Revolution for establishing and securing the same, in her doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; and that they tend to the fomenting of schism and division, to the disturbance of the

peace and quiet both of Church and State: Therefore the general assembly, being moved with zeal for the glory of God, and the purity and uniformity of his worship, doth hereby discharge the practice of all such innovations in divine worship within this Church, and does require and obtest all the ministers of this Church, especially those in whose bounds any such innovations are, or may happen to be, to represent to their people the evil thereof, and seriously to exhort them to beware of them, and to deal with all such as do practice the same, in order to their recovery and reformation; and do instruct and enjoin the commission of this assembly to use all proper means by applying to the government or otherwise, for suppressing and removing all such innovations, and preventing the evils and dangers that may ensue thereupon to this Church.”¹

The established ecclesiastical courts were entitled by all lawful means to prevent the adoption by their own members, and in the places subject to their jurisdiction, of forms of worship so entirely opposed to those which were used by Presbyterians. But they went beyond this, and endeavoured also to hinder their use in the meeting-houses frequented by the adherents of Episcopacy. The legality of such an attempt was tried before the civil courts, in a case which excited much discussion at the time, and which was attended with important consequences.

A clergyman of the name of James Greenshields, a native of Scotland, who had been ordained by Bishop Ramsay of Ross after his deprivation, and who had held an Irish curacy, first in the diocese of Down and afterwards in that of Armagh, returned to his native country in 1709. He had taken the oaths to government, and brought with him testimonials from the Archbishop of Armagh, and from the other ecclesiastical authorities of that diocese. At the request of some of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, chiefly it would appear of persons who had come thither from England, and without any licence from Bishop Rose, he opened a place of worship in that city, in which the services of the English Church were used. He was in consequence summoned before the Presbytery of Edinburgh. He appeared before that court, produced his letters of orders and testimonials, and, pleading that he

¹ Acts of Assembly, pp. 418, 419.

was noway subject to their jurisdiction, declined their authority, and protested against any judgment they might pronounce.

Greenshields' plea was disregarded by the presbytery. They prohibited him from preaching, resting their sentence on three grounds :—first, that he declined their jurisdiction ; secondly, that he exercised his office of the ministry without their authority ; and, thirdly, that he used innovations in public worship. They requested the sanction of the city magistrates to enforce this prohibition, and the magistrates accordingly forbade Greenshields to preach, under the pain of imprisonment. He disregarded the order, and, on the following Sunday, officiated as usual. He was in consequence apprehended, and committed to the common jail, there to remain till he should find caution to desist from the exercise of his ministry within the liberties of Edinburgh, or to remove himself beyond them. After he had lain in jail for some time, he brought the sentence of the magistrates under the review of the supreme civil court—the Lords of Session—stating, among other arguments, that the Scottish Presbyterian ministers in Ireland, where they had no legal toleration as they had in England, were nevertheless allowed full liberty of worship according to their own forms, and that the same liberty ought to be allowed to the qualified Episcopal clergy in Scotland. The Court of Session refused his petition, resting their decision chiefly on the circumstance that his orders were conferred by a deprived bishop—one of the judges remarking that “an exauctorated bishop had no more power to ordain a minister, than a deposed colonel or captain of horse had to give commissions to subalterns.” Greenshields appealed for redress to the British House of Peers, and the magistrates, weary of detaining him, or apprehensive of the consequences, released him from prison, after a confinement of seven months.

In the meantime, an alteration took place in the administration of the state. The Tory ministry of Harley displaced the Whigs, and a new parliament was elected, in which the High Church party possessed a decided majority ; most of the Scottish members being open supporters of Episcopacy, and hardly concealing their aversion to the Act of Settlement by which the succession of the crown was secured to the House of

Hanover. Harley himself, who wished to conciliate both parties in Scotland, endeavoured to prevail on Greenshields and his friends to withdraw the appeal; but they refused to do so, and, on the first of March, 1711, the sentence of the Court of Session was reversed.¹

The friends of Episcopacy, not content with accomplishing their object in the particular case of Greenshields, endeavoured to prevent the recurrence of similar oppressive proceedings against the clergy in time to come, by procuring a toleration act for Scotland. A bill for this purpose was introduced into the House of Commons in the beginning of the year 1712, and passed that house by a large majority. In the House of Lords, it was opposed by several of the Whig party, particularly by Bishop Burnet, as an infringement of the Treaty of Union; but it was agreed to with some amendments, and, on the third of March, received the royal assent, no regard being paid to a petition against it presented to the queen by the commission of the general assembly.

The Act of Toleration was very important, not only on account of its immediate object, but in connection with other provisions which were embodied in it. It is entitled "An act to prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the Liturgy of the Church of England; and for repealing the act passed in the parliament of Scotland, intituled An act against irregular Baptisms and Marriages." It was declared to be "free and lawful for all those of the Episcopal communion in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, to meet and assemble for the exercise of divine worship, to be performed after their own manner by pastors ordained by a Protestant bishop, and who are not established ministers of any church or parish, and to use in their congregations the Liturgy of the

¹ As to Greenshields' prosecution, see the printed Cases for the Appellant and Respondent before the House of Peers; and a contemporary pamphlet, entitled "True State of the Case of the Rev. Mr. Greenshields." See also Reports of Cases on Appeal from Scotland, vol. i. p. 12-15; Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 345-348; Wodrow Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 68, 69; and Stephen, vol. iv. pp. 34-50, 59-61. The fact that Greenshields' chapel was not licensed by Bishop Rose is mentioned in a letter from that prelate to Bishop Campbell, among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, No. C. 5, of the Catalogue.

Church of England, if they think fit, without any let, hindrance, or disturbance from any person whatsoever;" and the Scottish act of 1695 against irregular baptisms and marriages was repealed. But it was expressly provided that both the ministers of the established Church, and the Episcopal clergy, should be obliged to take and subscribe the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and that, during divine service, they should pray for the queen's majesty, the Princess Sophia of Hanover, and all the royal family.

It is obvious that the statute, in its direct purport, was beneficial only to those of the clergy who were willing to take the oaths to government. Indirectly, however, it tended to protect the whole body from the arbitrary prosecutions to which they had been subjected. The toleration which it bestowed was disagreeable to almost all the ministers of the established Church, but their indignation was increased by the manner in which they were themselves affected by some of the provisions of the statute. The clause which required them to pray for the queen and royal family by name, was resented as an infringement of the liberty of worship to which they laid claim. They objected to the compulsory subscription and swearing of the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, as they had formerly done on a similar occasion in the preceding reign, because it made the ministerial office dependent on the state. And they had now a further reason for opposition, since the oath of abjuration contained a promise to maintain the succession of the crown, as defined by the Act of Settlement; and one of the clauses of that act required the sovereign to be of the communion of the Church of England.¹

Within a few days after the passing of the Toleration Act, a bill was brought into the Lower House for restoring to patrons in Scotland their right of presentation to churches, which had been taken away by one of the statutes enacted soon after the Revolution. It passed through the Commons without much opposition, and was sent up to the Lords. There was at this time in London a deputation of Presbyterian ministers, appointed to watch over the interests of the Scottish establishment. The members of it were Carstairs, now

¹ See Acts of Assembly, pp. 467-470, 473-475; Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 378-384; and Burton, vol. ii. p. 42-49.

Principal of the College of Edinburgh, and two other ministers, Thomas Blackwell and Robert Baillie. They had petitioned parliament against the toleration bill; and they now presented to the House of Peers a petition against the bill for restoring patronages, in which they maintained that, as patronage had been abolished before the Act of Union, its restoration was inconsistent with the conditions in favour of the northern establishment, embodied in that national compact. This petition, from the clearness of its statements and the moderation of its language, was calculated to make a favourable impression; but even an experienced politician like Carstairs was unwilling himself, or was unable to prevail on his colleagues, to use the common parliamentary forms, and to recognise the civil rights of the English prelates. It was addressed, not to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, but "to the most honourable the Peers of Great Britain," and was in consequence not received till the proper amendment was made. Five of the bishops voted against the bill; a majority, however, of the house was in its favour. The commission of the assembly petitioned the queen against it, but it received the royal assent on the twenty-second of May.

By another act, the statute of 1690, which abolished the Christmas vacation of the courts of justice, was repealed, and the ancient usage was restored.¹

In opposing the Act of Toleration, the ministers of the established Church shewed an equal want of wisdom and of charity. They might have known that their resistance would be ineffectual, and that it would tend to make their remonstrances be listened to with less attention in other matters. The act did not interfere with the legal privileges of the establishment; and it was only simple justice that the adherents of Episcopacy in Scotland, if willing to submit to the queen's government, should enjoy the same toleration which Dissenters received in England. The clauses relative to the oath of abjuration, and the praying for the queen by name, were objectionable according to the strict principles of Presbyterianism; and, had they confined their opposition to these clauses, there

¹ See Acts of Assembly, pp. 470, 471; Parliamentary History of England, vol. vi. p. 1126-1129; Blackwell's Letters—Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. i. p. 197-222; and Burton, vol. ii. pp. 50, 51.

would have been more reason in their conduct. But those very clauses appear to have been inserted in consequence of the outcry which was raised against any sort of toleration.

The resistance to the Patronage Act was of a very different character. The right of presentation to benefices had been a grievance to Presbyterians from the commencement of their system in the time of Melville. In their period of triumph during the great rebellion, they had taken it away altogether; and, though restored with Episcopacy, it had again been practically abolished at the Revolution. The form of appointment to parochial cures then sanctioned was regarded as an important, if not an essential, portion of ecclesiastical discipline, and was supposed to be irrevocably secured by the Act of Union. The restoration of the rights of patrons was viewed as an infringement of that solemn treaty; and the alarm and indignation were the greater, that most of those who were chiefly instrumental in the change were known to be hostile to the Presbyterian establishment.

The conditions of the Toleration Act were at once accepted by those of the Episcopal clergy who had formerly taken the oaths to government, and probably by a few others who were willing to make some sacrifice of political principle in order to enjoy the protection of the laws; but the great majority of the Nonjurors remained steadfast in their former opinions. In the diocese of Aberdeen, where many of the deprived clergy had submitted to the reigning sovereign, the statute was received with particular gratitude. On the conclusion of the great European war by the peace of Utrecht, the clergy of Aberdeen drew up an address of congratulation to Queen Anne. It was presented by two of the most eminent of their number, Dr. James Garden and Dr. George Garden, who were accompanied by Mr. Greenshields, and introduced by the Secretary of State for Scotland, the Earl of Mar. After alluding to the thanksgivings which they had offered up, both in their churches and meeting-houses, for the return of peace, they referred to the freedom they now enjoyed, not only in the exercise of their pastoral care over a willing people, but also in the use of the Liturgy of the Church of England. They next referred to the abolition of the ancient and apostolic order in their Church, to the persecution which they had lately

suffered, and to the evils which they still had to endure ; and they concluded by entreating her majesty to grant such relief as in her royal wisdom she might think fit. The address was graciously received, and, had the queen's life been prolonged, there can be little doubt that the adherents of the hierarchy in Scotland would have received a still more ample measure of protection.¹

Among the ministers of the established Church there was a similar difference of opinion in regard to the lawfulness of the oaths, though proceeding, as already mentioned, from other causes than those which influenced the adherents of the hierarchy. The Presbyterian Nonjurors were generally to be found in those districts of the South and West which formerly had been the stronghold of the Covenant. Party feeling ran high between the supporters and opponents of the oaths ; but, the extreme measures on either side, which otherwise might have taken place, were prevented by the judicious conduct of the government in not demanding subscription from those already admitted to parochial charges.

No one did more to promote moderate counsels among the Presbyterians than Carstairs. He survived the accession of the House of Hanover, and died on the twenty-eighth of December, 1715, respected by men of all opinions for the uprightness and sincerity of his character, his blameless life, and his kindness and liberality to those who most differed from him. A story is related by his biographer, the truth of which there is no reason to question. When his body was interred in the Greyfriars churchyard at Edinburgh, two persons were seen to turn aside and burst into tears. They were Nonjuring clergymen of the Episcopal Church who had been supported by his charity.²

¹ Skinner's Annals, p. 298-300. The loyalty of Dr. George Garden to Queen Anne was not assumed for a temporary purpose, nor was it the mere result of recent protection from the government. In February, 1703, he had dedicated to the queen. in language which shewed the sincerity of his homage, the complete and valuable edition of the works of Dr. John Forbes, published at Amsterdam in that year.

² M'Cormick's Life of Carstairs, p. 83-91. Dr. M'Cormick states (p. 90) that, "at the Revolution, Mr. Carstairs laid down a plan for the maintenance of such of the Episcopal clergy, as were removed from their churches, out of the bishops' rents, but the ministry always found some pretext for applying this fund to other less charitable purposes."

The passing of the Toleration Act, and the unwonted degree of favour shewn by the government to the adherents of Episcopacy in the latter years of Queen Anne, encouraged the clergy to continue their efforts for the introduction of liturgical services. Many copies of the Book of Common Prayer were sent from England or purchased with contributions received from that country, and were distributed throughout Scotland; and its use continued to increase, both in the parochial churches where the old incumbents remained, and in the tolerated and Nonjuring meeting-houses. The clergy were almost all zealous for liturgical restoration, but prudently forbore to urge it on their flocks, till they had prepared them for it by careful instruction. The whole circumstances attending the gradual and voluntary introduction of the Liturgy were in happy contrast to the attempt to establish it by authority in the reign of King Charles the First.¹

¹ See two interesting documents, printed from the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, in the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. vii. p. 24-26, containing some notices of an attempt made to introduce the Liturgy into the Highlands, in which Bishop Campbell took an active part. It appears probable from those papers that the first parish church in which an altar was erected was Contin, in the diocese of Ross. The incumbent who set it up mentions that it was made after the pattern of one which he had seen in the meeting-house at Aberdeen, in which Patrick Dunbreck officiated. The author of "*A Representation of the State of the Church in North Britain*," published in 1718, speaks (p. 19) of "the generous charity of many pious and well-disposed persons of all ranks of the Church of England, particularly of the famous University of Oxford, at whose charges and charitable contributions, without any brief to further it, above nineteen thousand Common Prayer Books, and other devotional edifying books relating to it, were remitted from London in the space of two years." He adds, "that this great and generous charity had its designed effect, by making many sincere proselytes to the Liturgy, of all ranks and degrees of people." The subject may be illustrated by the following extracts from the parochial records of Banchory-Devenick, dated the 19th and 26th of October, 1712:—"The said day, intimation was made to the congregation, that the next Lord's day the excellent Liturgy of the Church of England was to be used in the worship of God, in this congregation, and, accordingly, the people were exhorted to perform this method of worship in a spirit of devotion, and with that becoming gravity and decency that was expected from those who had been so exemplary heretofore in the worship of God." . . . "The said day, according to the foresaid intimation, the Liturgy of the Church of England was first used in the public worship of God in this parochial church, in order to the continuance thereof—for advancing of which excellent worship, there were two hundred Books of Common Prayer given to the minister, out of the charity Books sent from England to Scotland to be distributed gratis, charges of freight excepted, which two hundred Books were distributed some weeks before, among such of the parishioners as were capable of using

The use of the Book of Common Prayer in the ordinary offices naturally called attention to those observances which King James had attempted to restore at the Perth assembly, but which had been neglected, or altogether lost sight of, in the period between the Restoration and the Revolution. Private Baptism indeed, from the circumstances in which the Church was placed, had unfortunately become the rule rather than the exception. The same reason perhaps contributed to the frequent celebration of the Holy Communion in private, but undoubtedly this was owing chiefly to a more reverential and a truer perception of the Eucharistic mystery. The observance, not only of the great Christian festivals and fasts, but of other holy-days, accompanied the introduction of the daily services; and, when the posture of kneeling was used in prayer at ordinary times, it was still more carefully practised at the administration of the Eucharist. Now also the rite of Confirmation, which can hardly be said to have been used since the overthrow of the hierarchy in the sixteenth century, was restored. In this the prelates must have taken the chief part, and foremost in promoting it was the good and learned Bishop Falconer. But simultaneously with the restoration of apostolic practice in this point, and connected with the admission of candidates to its privileges, arose a difficulty in regard to the validity of baptism administered by those who were not episcopally ordained. Bishop Falconer was unable to come to a decision, and therefore asked the opinion of Bishop Rose. The answer of the Bishop of Edinburgh, which was dated in July, 1713, shewed much wisdom and moderation. He declined to give a positive opinion, and recommended a middle course, which Bishop Falconer himself had suggested, and which afterwards received the express sanction of the Scottish Episcopal Church—the giving of conditional baptism to those who doubted the validity of that which they had formerly received.

them, as also a folio Book for the minister, and a quarto for the clerk."
 "Kneeling boards were also placed in the pews." (New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xi. pp. 181, 182.) James Gordon, now far advanced in life, appears to have been still Parson of Banchory-Devenick, and thus to have seen the partial accomplishment, during the establishment of Presbyterianism, of what he had laboured to bring about, and had suffered for, while Episcopacy was protected by the state.

Three years before, a question, not so important in itself, but attended with more practical difficulty, and very embarrassing in its nature, had been put to Bishop Rose by some members of the University of Oxford. The enquiry was, whether he and the other Scottish prelates were at that time in communion with the established Church of England. The following was his brief answer:—"I know there has been a division among the members of the Church of England upon that head. The controversy is great and material, and, our circumstances among ourselves not affording such difficulties, the most of us perchance have not so carefully examined that matter, and want the needful helps to be fully instructed in it. And for myself, it cannot be expected of me, that without a previous conference with my brethren, and considering that subject thoroughly and maturely with them, I should give my sense of it." At an after period the reply would hardly have been a sincere one; and, even at this time, the sympathies of the Scottish bishops were entirely with the Nonjuring communion in England, as was shewn by their assisting Dr. Hickes to preserve the episcopal succession. But, during the reign of Queen Anne, they were still the ecclesiastical superiors of a body of clergy and laity who obeyed them as their bishops, though holding different opinions in regard to the civil government. No schism had taken place among the adherents of the hierarchy in Scotland, similar to that which the deprivation of Sancroft and his colleagues had caused in England.¹

The letters and historical documents of this reign shew that a marked change had taken place in the degree of influence exercised by the Episcopal clergy over the laity of the higher ranks, especially those of the female sex, from what prevailed during the period of the Covenant, and even for some time after the Restoration. Then the Presbyterian ministers appear almost exclusively as the guides and counsellors of the nobility and gentry who practised or professed most attention to their religious duties. Now it was otherwise. The deprived clergy exercised the moral sway which their opponents had formerly enjoyed. At both periods there was evil as well as good in this influence; but the change points to what is evident from other information, that, as a general rule, religious earnestness

¹ See Skinner, vol. ii. p. 612-615.

and strictness was now the badge of the hierarchy and its supporters, rather than of the teachers of Presbyterianism.

Queen Anne died on the first of August, 1714. Her personal virtues, her zeal for Episcopacy, and the circumstance that she was the last sovereign of the house of Stewart, caused her name and memory to be cherished by those who loved the Church and hereditary right, with a devotion which her character as a ruler would hardly have called forth.

CHAPTER LXXV.

FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE IN AUGUST, 1714, TO THE ABJURATION
ACT OF APRIL, 1719.

*Accession of King George the First—Jacobite Insurrection—
The Episcopal clergy sympathise with the Insurgents—
Proceedings of the Government against the Episcopal
clergy—Ejection of the Episcopal clergy in the diocese of
Aberdeen—Deprivation of the Principal of King's College
and other members of the University of Aberdeen—Efforts
of the General Assembly to obtain a repeal of the Patronage
Act—The Abjuration Act of 1719.*

ON the death of Queen Anne, the Elector of Hanover succeeded to the crown in terms of the Act of Settlement, and was proclaimed King of Great Britain, under the name of George the First. The adherents of the Jacobite cause were numerous, particularly in Scotland, where most of the nobility and gentry, a large proportion of the common people, and the most powerful of the Highland clans, were favourably disposed to the son of the late King James. It is probable, however, that no open resistance would have been made, if the discontented party had not been urged on to insurrection by a few statesmen who were deprived of their places by the new sovereign, some of whom, like the Earl of Mar, were actuated by the most selfish motives. About a year after the accession of King George, a formidable revolt broke out in Scotland. The greater part of the kingdom beyond the Forth was in possession of the insurgents, and, in the South, and on the English border, a simultaneous rising took place. Had the Jacobite leader, Mar, possessed the genius and courage of Dundee, he might, without difficulty, have made himself master of the whole of Scotland; but his indecision and want of military skill were fatal to his cause. The Duke of Argyll, who commanded the royal army, succeeded in preventing a junction between the northern and southern Jacobites; and a battle was fought at Sheriff-muir, in November 1715, in which

neither side had the advantage. Almost at the same time, the southern Jacobites and their English allies were obliged to surrender at Preston. In the end of the following month, the Prince of Wales, styled by his Scottish adherents King James the Eighth, landed at Peterhead, and joined his army near Perth. The private character of this unhappy prince was recklessly slandered at the time, and the calumnies of his enemies have been carelessly or wilfully repeated by later writers; but he was entirely deficient in those qualities which are requisite to restore a falling cause. His presence added no strength to the insurgent army; and the Jacobites, a few weeks afterwards, retired to the North, and dispersed among the mountains, the nobles and chiefs seeking for safety in flight or concealment. Many of the southern Jacobites were at the mercy of the government; and, had the advice of the most faithful of the Scottish friends of the Hanoverian succession been taken, no unnecessary severity would have been displayed. But the king and his English advisers were of a different opinion. The prisoners were tried in England; and many of them, including some of high rank, were executed, while others were sent as slaves to the American plantations.

One of the results of the insurrection of 1715 was a renewal of those harassing proceedings against the Episcopal clergy, from which they had been free in the last years of Queen Anne. But, in this respect, the severity of the government was justified, to some extent, by the conduct of many of those who were exposed to the penalties of the statutes. Previously to this time, it cannot be maintained that the adherents of the disestablished Church, as a body, had openly supported the house of Stewart. A considerable number both of the clergy and the laity had taken the oaths, and had remained firm in their allegiance to William and to Anne. And, though the opinions of the Nonjurors necessarily implied a belief in the unlawfulness of the Revolution settlement, it did not follow that they held active opposition to it to be allowable. Now, however, it was different. The disappointment of their hopes, ecclesiastical and political, on the accession of George the First, and the certainty that a peaceful restoration of the ancient line was no longer possible, united almost all the friends of the hierarchy in attachment to

the cause of James. The most distinguished of the Jacobite leaders were zealous supporters of Episcopacy; the sons of the Bishops of Edinburgh and Dunblane were among the ranks of the insurgents; and the public devotions of their armies were conducted by the Episcopal clergy, according to the ritual of the Book of Common Prayer. Treasonable acts of the most overt character took place on the part of some of the clergy; and it is remarkable that, among those who now came prominently forward in favour of James, were several who in the last two reigns had been distinguished for the moderation of their political opinions. While that prince was residing at the Earl Marischal's house of Fetteresso, an address was laid before him, bearing to proceed from the Episcopal clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen, and probably signed by most of their number. Among those who presented it were Dr. James Garden and Dr. George Garden, who, at the peace of Utrecht, had presented an address from the same body to Queen Anne; and now, as on the former occasion, they were introduced by the Earl of Mar.¹

The most ready means of proceeding against the clergy were supplied by the Toleration Act itself, which required them to register their letters of orders, and to pray for the sovereign by name. In May, 1716, the king wrote to the Lords of Justiciary, stating that he understood there were meeting-houses in Edinburgh, and other parts of Scotland, in which divine service was celebrated without prayer being made for himself and the royal family, and enjoining them to give directions for shutting up such meeting-houses, and proceeding against the persons offending in time to come. The Lords professed their readiness to proceed against the parties referred to. They mentioned, however, that they were not entitled summarily to shut up the meeting-houses, but only after trial and conviction in due course of law; and even then, that it was doubtful whether their powers extended farther than the exaction of penalties in terms of the Toleration Act. The crown lawyers were thereupon ordered to prepare indictments against the offending clergy in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood, for transgressing the provisions of the statute,

¹ See the Address from the Clergy of Aberdeen in Rae's History of the Rebellion, 2d ed. p. 476-478.

in not registering their letters of orders, and in not praying during divine service for King George and the royal family. The whole persons summoned, except one who produced his letters of orders from a Scottish bishop, were prohibited from officiating till they should comply with the provision of the statute on that point, and twenty-one of them were fined for not praying for the king. The clergymen subsequently registered their letters of orders, and continued to officiate as before. The magistrates of Edinburgh having been blamed by the government for allowing them to officiate, and having consulted the Lords of Justiciary how they were to act, received a doubtful answer. It appears that these measures were generally unpopular, and that both judges and magistrates were unwilling to go beyond the letter of the statute.¹

Proceedings of a more arbitrary and severe description took place in the North. The diocese of Aberdeen, which had always been the stronghold of the hierarchy, was now also the chief seat of Jacobitism in the Lowlands; and the clergy by their recent conduct had made themselves justly amenable to the laws. A considerable number of the parochial cures were still in possession of the old incumbents, and the Book of Common Prayer was used in several churches, and in most meeting-houses; and the Presbyterians eagerly laid hold of the opportunity to get possession of the benefices, and to abolish the Liturgy. Before any proceedings commenced for that purpose, Dr. James Garden, Patrick Dunbreck, and some others of the clergy who had taken a conspicuous part in favour of the house of Stewart, sought refuge with their friends at a distance; and Dr. George Garden, who had been imprisoned, made his escape, and fled beyond seas. Most of the meeting-houses having been shut up, the ecclesiastical courts endeavoured to prevail on the incumbents and other clergy to resign their cures, or to desist from officiating, threatening them with prosecution if they declined to comply. Those who refused were summoned before the presbyteries, generally on charges of disloyalty during the late rebellion, but sometimes also as being guilty of using the English Liturgy and ceremonies. Several of the clergy disregarded

¹ Arnot's Criminal Trials, p. 343-346.

these citations altogether, but others appeared, and lodged a declinature of the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian church courts, as having no authority over persons of another communion, or in relation to charges which fell within the cognizance of the civil magistrate. Their pleas were in most cases disregarded, and sentences of suspension or deposition were pronounced against them. The deprived clergymen continued to officiate as before; and, as the people adhered firmly to their pastors, the established judicatories could obtain possession of the parish churches, which they had declared vacant, only by means of the secular authorities, or with the assistance of the soldiers. The scenes which took place on such occasions resembled those which were so common in the West on the ejection of the Presbyterian ministers in the reign of Charles the Second. The number of the clergy deprived in the diocese of Aberdeen was about thirty-six, two-thirds of whom were parochial ministers.¹

In Angus and other districts where Episcopacy had been strongest, proceedings of a like kind took place. The University of Aberdeen was now also, for the first time, brought into complete conformity with the established Church. The compliance of Dr. George Middleton, the Principal of King's College, with the conditions required by law, has already been related. He was notwithstanding an active supporter of Episcopacy and of the Liturgical movement in the reign of Queen Anne; and several of the masters held the same opinions. When the Earl Marischal, the patron of Marischal College, became a zealous Jacobite and an adherent of the hierarchy, several of the professors followed his example. On the suppression of the insurrection, a royal commission was issued for the visitation of the university, and Dr. Middleton and other obnoxious members of both colleges were deprived. In consequence of these various

¹ In regard to the proceedings in the diocese of Aberdeen, see the work already referred to, "A Representation of the state of the Church in North Britain." The statements of the author may be relied on as to the deprivations, but he underrates the share which the clergy had in the insurrection; and his account of the conduct of the Presbyterian ministers and magistrates must be received with the same qualifications as the similar narratives by Wodrow and others of his school of the ejections after the Restoration. See also Wodrow Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 210, 226.

measures, almost the last traces of the old establishment were swept away, nearly thirty years after the Revolution.¹

The Presbyterians were as much elated by the accession of the House of Hanover as their opponents were discouraged. They expected, through the favour of the new sovereign and his advisers, to obtain a repeal or modification of the statutes passed in the reign of Queen Anne against which they had vainly remonstrated at the time. By a statute of King George's first parliament, the act restoring the Christmas vacation of the courts of justice was repealed, but neither English nor Scottish statesmen were prepared to give up the Toleration and Patronage Acts. In the beginning of the year 1717, when tranquillity had been restored in the North, the commission of the general assembly thought that a fit opportunity had occurred for making another attempt to obtain a redress of their grievances. Two ministers, William Mitchell and William Hamilton, were sent to London for that purpose. The leading Scottish peers and commoners on whom they waited made general professions of good-will, but declined to interfere in regard to patronage. The commissioners themselves were not very zealous for a change in the abjuration oath, but they suggested that it should receive some explanation, on account of the scruples of the Nonjurors in their communion. They were introduced to the royal closet by the Duke of Roxburgh, and presented an address to the king, in which they set forth the grievances to which their Church was subjected; referring, among others, to the "act granting so

¹ *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. 387. *Wodrow Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 211. *Orem's History of Old Aberdeen*, p. 156. A very few of the old incumbents still kept possession of their churches, but within a few years hardly one survived. Dr. Carlyle (*Autobiography*, p. 95), referring to a visit which he made to the members of the Presbytery of Haddington in 1744, says:—"The next I went to was old Lundie of Saltoun, a pious and primitive old man, very respectful in his manners, and very kind. He had been bred an old Scotch Episcopalian, and was averse to the Confession of Faith: the presbytery shewed lenity towards him: so he did not sign it to his dying day, for which reason he never could be a member of assembly." Lundie, however, was evidently not an old parochial incumbent, but one of those adherents of Episcopacy who were illegally presented to benefices, after the Revolution, by patrons of their own religious belief, and remained in possession, through the attachment of their congregations, or the connivance of the local ecclesiastical courts. Both in East Lothian and in the Merse, the supporters of the hierarchy were numerous and powerful for many years after the establishment of Presbyterianism.

large and almost boundless toleration to those of the Episcopal persuasion in Scotland, and the act restoring patronage, whereby the legal constitution of this Church was altered in a very important point, and the right of the people in choosing those to whom they intrust the care of their souls restrained." The king gave a brief answer in French. When parliament rose for the Easter recess, the commissioners returned home, without having been able to do much for the objects of their errand.¹

The representations of the general assembly finally produced some effect. The late insurrection had already shewn that the adherents of Episcopacy were, for the most part, as disaffected to the reigning family, as the Presbyterians were attached to it; and, in April, 1719, being the fifth year of the king's reign, an act was passed, by which the provisions in regard to the oath of abjuration were made more agreeable to the Presbyterians, and more distinct and severe penalties were imposed on the Nonjuring Episcopal clergy. The statute was entitled "An act for making more effectual the laws appointing the oaths for security of the government, to be taken by ministers and preachers in churches and meeting-houses in Scotland." The abjuration oath, as thereby modified, contained no reference to the act by which the sovereign was obliged to be of the communion of the Church of England. In regard to the Episcopal clergy, it was enacted that no person should be permitted to officiate in any Episcopal meeting-house or congregation where nine or more persons

¹ See Mitchell's Diary, in the Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. i. p. 227-253; and Burton, vol. ii. p. 283-286. Mr. Burton quotes the following passage from Mitchell's Diary:—"We were introduced to the king, in his closet, by Roxburgh, and Mr. Hamilton read the following speech to him in English—Roxburgh having told us that he understood English, and that it was not fit the custom of speaking in French should be kept up;" and he adds, "The reader will remember how often the assertion of Archdeacon Coxe has been repeated, that Walpole and George I. spoke to each other in bad Latin, because the king could not speak English, and the minister was ignorant of French." Mr. Burton evidently means it to be implied that the quotation from the Diary shews that the king could speak English. The Duke of Roxburgh only said that his sovereign understood English; and the historian omits to mention that the king answered in French. The Diary expressly says, "During the reading, [he looked agreeably on us, and then spoke in French, as Roxburgh told us, 'I am well satisfied of the good affection of the Church of Scotland, and I shall be glad of an occasion to serve them.']" See Mitchell's Diary, pp. 230, 250.

were present in addition to the members of the household, without praying in express words for King George and the royal family, and without having taken and subscribed the oath of abjuration contained in the statute, under the penalty of six months' imprisonment, and of having his meeting-house shut up for the same period.

This statute was put in execution against some of the clergy, and they were always exposed to prosecutions under it; but, when the alarm of invasion and insurrection abated, its provisions were seldom enforced. One of its consequences was the appointment, by several congregations, of clergymen willing to take the oaths, who were thus qualified to officiate openly according to the English ritual. The congregations which did so were chiefly composed of English families, or of persons whose attachment to the Liturgy was stronger than their zeal for any particular political opinions. At first, the pastors of such congregations remained in communion with the bishops, but gradually a different state of matters arose. English clergymen, or Scotsmen of English ordination, officiated in chapels where the Liturgy was used in virtue of the Toleration Act, but without acknowledging the authority of the Scottish bishops, or regarding themselves as in any way connected with the native hierarchy; while, on the other hand, the prelates, as a general rule, declined to sanction the ministrations of those who took the oaths to the reigning family, and thus afforded an argument for ecclesiastical irregularities on the part of the qualified clergy, which otherwise would have been without excuse.

The proceedings which followed the insurrection of 1715 had broken the last link which connected the Episcopal clergy with the state, and the act of 1719 was the last statute of any importance, in an ecclesiastical point of view, which made provision regarding both the adherents of the hierarchy and the members of the new establishment. From that time the two communions stood almost entirely apart in their external position, as well as in their principles and polity; and henceforth the present work, instead of proceeding in one unbroken narrative, will, in separate portions, relate the history of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

FROM THE ABJURATION ACT OF APRIL, 1719, TO THE DEATH OF KING
GEORGE I. IN JUNE, 1727.

*Death of Bishop Rose—Meeting of the Clergy of Edinburgh—
Bishop Fullarton chosen Bishop of Edinburgh and Primus
—Dr. Gadderar appointed Bishop of Aberdeen—Contro-
versy about the Usages—Address by the Episcopal College
against the Usages—Answer by Dr. Rattray—Death of
Bishop Falconer—Articles of Agreement regarding the
Usages—Disputed election by the clergy of Angus and
Mearns—Death of Bishop Fullarton—Election of Bishop
Millar to the see of Edinburgh—Dr. Rattray chosen Bishop
of Brechin—Death of George the First—Account of the
attempt to restore communion between the Nonjurors and the
Eastern Church.*

IN the autumn before the passing of the Abjuration Act, other two consecrations had taken place in Scotland. The death of Bishop Christie in 1718 again made it necessary to attend to the preservation of the episcopal succession, there being on that event only three resident bishops. On the twenty-second of October, Arthur Millar, formerly minister at Inveresk, and William Irvine, formerly minister at Kirkmichael in Carrick, were consecrated at Edinburgh by the Bishop of Edinburgh, and Bishops Fullarton and Falconer. Bishop Millar had been deprived of his parochial cure by the committee of estates in 1689. He was one of the most active presbyters of the Non-juring communion; and, though he had conducted himself with prudence and moderation, he had not escaped the notice of the government, having been among the Edinburgh clergy who were tried for not praying for King George. Bishop Irvine had been driven out of his parish, at the Revolution, by the Cameronian rabble, and had made himself conspicuous, on more than one occasion, by the most open avowal of his Jaco-

bite principles. A little before the battle of Killikrankie, he publicly officiated in presence of Dundee's army; and he again preached the same sermon which he had delivered at that time, in the church of Kelso, in October, 1715, to the Jacobite army commanded by Lord Kenmure and General Foster. For his share in the former insurrection, he was committed to prison, but made his escape, and resided for some time at St. Germain's; for his conduct during the latter, he suffered a long incarceration at London.¹

On the twentieth of March, 1720, Bishop Rose died at Edinburgh, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. His body was interred in the ancient church of Restalrig. From the time of his elevation to the episcopate, he had been called to take a leading part in the government of the Church, and, since the death of Archbishop Paterson, he was almost its sole ruler. During a period of unexampled difficulty and danger, his whole conduct had been marked by a union of high principle, ability, and discretion; and to him, more than to any other person, was it owing that the clergy and laity, however persecuted from without, however differing among themselves on important questions ecclesiastical as well as secular, remained for many years undisturbed by schism, and yielded a willing obedience to spiritual superiors whose only claim on their submission was the authority of their apostolic office.²

The death of Bishop Rose necessarily led to a change in the form of ecclesiastical government which had been maintained since the Revolution. That form, though varying in some respects at different times, had in all essential points been a continuation of the old episcopal jurisdiction. The whole power, as already explained, was for several years centred in the person of the Bishop of Edinburgh, the last of

¹ Bishop Millar's deed of consecration, among the papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, No. R. 17, of the Catalogue. Attested copy of Bishop Irvine's deed of consecration, in the same collection, not numbered in the Catalogue. MS. Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, p. 6. Keith's Catalogue, p. 526. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 621. Patten's History of the Rebellion, as quoted by Burton, vol. ii. p. 158. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 119. Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 306.

² MS. Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, p. 6. Keith's Catalogue, p. 64. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 622.

the established prelates. His death left Scotland without a single diocesan bishop. Of the six surviving prelates who had been raised to the episcopate by Bishop Rose and his colleagues, two, Campbell and Gadderar, resided in England; the other four, Fullarton, Falconer, Millar, and Irvine, were in Scotland; but none of them either possessed or laid claim to any jurisdiction in virtue of his episcopal character. The natural and proper course in such circumstances would have been the election of bishops, to fill the vacant sees, by the clergy and laity of the several dioceses; and the care of the old ecclesiastical rulers in preserving the episcopal succession would have rendered it unnecessary again to resort to England for the grace of consecration. Had this course been followed, and had the Church relied on her own divine gifts, and refrained from mixing herself up with mere political disputes, a great part of the Scottish people might even yet have been won back to the apostolic discipline. But it was otherwise appointed. The same circumstance which had already produced so much evil—the undue interference of the secular authority in matters ecclesiastical—again prevented the Church's restoration.

It was not from King George's government that the danger proceeded. The Hanoverian statesmen did not claim any right to interfere with the internal arrangements of a body whose existence in a corporate capacity they hardly recognised; but the political advisers of the banished prince were unwilling to relinquish a power which was thought to be necessary for the support of their master's cause. Unhappily for themselves, most of the prelates, and a considerable number of the clergy, were not prepared to act independently, and to disregard an influence which would have been powerless the instant it was resisted. And according to the opinions which they maintained, they would have been wrong in doing so; for they believed that their sovereign, though in exile and holding a different religious belief, was as much entitled to their allegiance as subjects and as ecclesiastics, as if he sat on the throne of his fathers, and professed the creed of King Charles the Martyr. That obedience did not indeed imply any participation in the erroneous belief of their prince, or encouragement of the communion to which he belonged; but it

required a ready submission to his prerogatives, as supreme governor over all estates in his kingdom, and as possessing the right of nomination to the episcopal sees.

Such was the prevalent opinion among many of the clergy, though a large and increasing party held wiser principles; and, even among the former, the force of circumstances relaxed in practice the rigour of their theory. Similar differences of opinion existed among the laity. They were all attached to Episcopacy as a form of government; and, among the higher and educated classes, the constitution and doctrines of the Church were now better understood than at any former period. The more studious and inquiring had begun to doubt the correctness of the exaggerated view so long prevalent in regard to the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, and were prepared to co-operate heartily with those of the bishops and clergy who contended for the intrinsic authority of the Church. The greater number, however, of the nobility and gentry were still determined to maintain unimpaired all the prerogatives of the crown. The secular power was represented by several noblemen and gentlemen, to whom, under the name of Trustees, James had committed the management of his affairs in Scotland; and foremost among them was Lockhart of Carnwath, one of the most able and active of the Jacobite leaders—a man whose devotion to the cause he had espoused was sincere and enthusiastic, but who was sometimes unscrupulous in regard to the means by which he sought to promote it.

Immediately after Bishop Rose's funeral, a meeting was held of the clergy residing in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood, at which the three bishops, Falconer, Millar, and Irvine, also attended. At this meeting it was resolved to fill the vacant see of Edinburgh, and, after some opposition on the part of the presbyters who had held parochial cures before the Revolution, it was agreed that all the clergy should have an equal voice in the election. The three bishops declared their episcopal character, which, though probably known to all present, may never have been formally avowed; and it was agreed to adjourn to another day, in consequence of the absence of Bishop Fullarton, the senior prelate. The clergy assembled again in the month of April, and, on this occasion, Bishop

Fullarton was present with his colleagues. Dr. Falconer, on behalf of himself and his brethren, produced their deeds of consecration, stating at the same time that, though they were bishops of the Scottish Church, ordained for the purpose of preserving the episcopal succession, they did not pretend to jurisdiction over any particular place or district.

A third meeting took place on the following day, at which the presbyters alone attended. They were about fifty in number, and seem to have begun their proceedings, as in former times, by naming a moderator and a clerk. Bishop Fullarton was elected to the vacant see, and the choice was ratified by the other prelates, who now assumed the name of the Episcopal College, and appointed the newly chosen bishop to be president of their body, with the title of Primus, but without any metropolitan authority. The election of Bishop Fullarton to the see of Edinburgh and the office of Primus was notified by Bishop Falconer to the two absent prelates, Campbell and Gadderar, for their approbation. On the fifth of May, the Episcopal College sent an humble address, with an account of the whole proceedings, to James; who returned a gracious answer, intimating his approbation of the late promotions, and dispensing with any informalities which might have taken place, but, in regard to future appointments, requesting that the names of the persons proposed should first be intimated to him, and assuring them that every consideration would be given to their opinion on the point. Lockhart, whose influence had been exerted to secure the election of Bishop Fullarton, also wrote to the Chevalier, suggesting that he should recommend the clergy to pay the same deference to the Primus, which they had formerly given to Bishop Rose, and also that the newly chosen bishop should be appointed one of the trustees for the management of his interests in Scotland. James complied with this suggestion, and gave the requisite powers to Bishop Fullarton.¹

¹ Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 35-42. MS. Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, pp. 6, 7. Memoirs of the Affairs of the Episcopal Church—appendix to Lawson, p. 520-522. Rattray's Essay on the Church, p. 236-239. Skinner, vol. ii. pp. 628, 629. See also letter from Bishop Falconer to Bishops Campbell and Gadderar, dated 3d May, 1720, among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, No. D. 2, of the Catalogue. It is asserted by James Dundas, in his Supplement to the View of the Election of Bishops in the Primitive

So far as Lockhart and the leading Jacobites were concerned, the election of a successor to Bishop Rose was mainly for the purpose of keeping the clergy united under one ecclesiastical superior, and firm in their allegiance to the exiled prince. They had no wish or intention that the example should be followed in other dioceses. But these views were unknown to the clergy and laity generally, and would have been disapproved of by many, had they been acknowledged. Encouraged by what had taken place at Edinburgh, a large body of the clergy of Angus, and those also in the Presbytery of St. Andrews, requested Bishop Falconer, who resided in Fife, to assume the spiritual superintendence of them and the people committed to their charge; promising to acknowledge him as their proper bishop, and to pay him all due and canonical obedience. Their request was acceded to by Dr. Falconer, whose principles in regard to ecclesiastical government were entirely favourable to a restoration of the diocesan system, so far as circumstances permitted. While this arrangement was in the course of being carried through, it appears that proposals were made, probably by the two prelates in London, to the College of Bishops, to divide the whole kingdom into districts, and to appoint bishops for the superintendence of each. In the month of September, the Bishop of Edinburgh wrote to Bishops Campbell and Gadderar, mentioning that such a plan was most desirable in itself, but referring to the great practical difficulties from the want of funds for the support of diocesan bishops. He added that Bishop Falconer would be very acceptable to most of the clergy and laity beyond the Forth; but that he saw no prospect of having others settled elsewhere, unless the two bishops in London would themselves come down and accept of districts. In these proposals, the name of district was used instead of diocese; and, in the arrangement actually carried out in regard to Bishop Falconer, even the old territorial limits of the ecclesiastical divisions were disregarded. This was owing, partly perhaps to motives of convenience, but chiefly to a wish to

Church, preface, pp. iv. v., that Bishop Fullarton derived his authority not only as Primus, but as Bishop of Edinburgh, from the other bishops, and that his episcopal jurisdiction was restricted "to the temporary ecclesiastic inspection of the city of Edinburgh." There appears to be no sufficient evidence of this.

avoid interfering with the supposed prerogatives of their sovereign.¹

An attempt was made by the clergy and laity of the diocese, or rather of the county, of Aberdeen, to obtain the episcopal superintendence of Bishop Falconer; but his proper district required all his attention, and prevented his complying with their wishes. They subsequently asked and obtained the licence of the Episcopal College to proceed to the election of a bishop. Dr. George Garden had been spoken of as likely to be chosen; but the support which he had given to Madam Bourignon's opinions rendered him unsuitable for the office. The College suggested that there was no need for a new consecration; and that, if the clergy would agree to nominate a fit person from among the present bishops, the individual so nominated would, if approved of, be ordered to reside within the district assigned to him. The clergy of Aberdeen met on the tenth of May, 1721, and elected Bishop Campbell as their ordinary; but the choice was not satisfactory to the majority of the other prelates.

Bishop Campbell had excited suspicion by his strong advocacy of those liturgical practices which had already led to a schism among the English Nonjurors. The College, however, offered to ratify his election, if he would promise not to maintain any doctrines or usages which were without sanction from the canons of the Church; but he refused to comply with this proposal, and the bishops therefore intimated to the clergy of Aberdeen that their choice was not approved of. Campbell, nevertheless, held himself to be canonically elected; and, as he continued to reside at London, he sent his friend Bishop Gadderar to Aberdeen, with a commission to act as his vicar. According to Skinner's narrative, Bishop Campbell, to avoid giving unnecessary offence to his brethren, yielded his right in favour of Dr. Gadderar, who had been proposed as a candidate along with himself; and the latter, coming to Scotland, was received by the clergy of Aberdeen with entire satisfaction, and with a ready profession of canonical obedience. It is certain, however, that Dr. Gadderar acted for some time only as vicar, suffragan, or commendator; and

¹ Skinner, vol. ii. pp. 629, 630. "Bishop John Falconer and his Friends"—*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. iii. p. 31.

it was not till the year 1725 that Bishop Campbell resigned the see in his favour by a formal deed. Even in that document, Bishop Campbell reserved his right, in the event of his being able to come to Aberdeen and claim it; though it does not appear that Dr. Gadderar or the clergy of the diocese agreed to a stipulation so irregular.¹

On the seventeenth of October, 1722, two presbyters, Andrew Cant and David Freebairn, were consecrated to the episcopate, at Edinburgh, by the Primus, and Bishops Millar and Irvine. Bishop Cant was the son of the Principal of the College of Edinburgh, and grandson of the Covenanting minister, both of the same name. Before the Revolution, he was one of the ministers of the capital; and he was formerly referred to in connection with the appointment of Bishop Rose to the see of Edinburgh. Bishop Freebairn was originally minister at Dunning. His character for learning and ability was not very high, and the Episcopal College agreed to his consecration only in compliance with the urgent and repeated requests of James.²

The liturgical practices, to which reference has been made, were now meeting with increased support both among the clergy and the laity. No external influence had been exerted in their favour; and against them was arrayed the whole weight of popular prejudice, the force of habit, the aversion to ritual which since the Reformation had almost become a part of the Scottish character, and the power of those who acted in name of the exiled prince. The authority of the Episcopal College leant in the same direction. Falconer alone was a strenuous advocate for these practices; Gadderar had not yet arrived from London; Fullarton and Millar, though sometimes wavering, were generally adverse to them; the other bishops, particularly Irvine, were decidedly opposed to them.

¹ Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. pp. 101, 102. MS. Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, p. 7. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 630. Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal, vol. iii. pp. 31, 58; vol. vi. pp. 92, 93. Scottish Magazine, new series, vol. iii. p. 478.

² Bishop Cant's deed of consecration, among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, No. R. 18, of the Catalogue. Bishop Freebairn's deed of consecration, in the same collection, not numbered in the Catalogue. MS. Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, p. 7. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. pp. 49, 76, 93, 94. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 642.

Their adoption was entirely owing to the zeal and learning of their principal supporters, and to the conviction on the part of those who maintained them, that they were warranted by the Scriptures, and sanctioned by the authority and example of the primitive Church. They now became known by the name of the Usages; and, so far as the Eucharistic office was concerned, were chiefly the following:—the Mixing of water with the wine; the Commemoration of the faithful departed; the use of an express prayer of Invocation; and the use of a formal prayer of Oblation. There were also others, unconnected with the Eucharist, on which some insisted, but to which less importance was attached; such as Immersion in Baptism, and the use of Chrism both in Baptism and in Confirmation.

The usages received a certain degree of support from the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637; but there can be no doubt that their advocates in Scotland acted, to a considerable extent, in accordance with the opinions entertained by many of their brethren in the South. From the accession of Elizabeth, there had existed a school of English divines, who regretted the changes made by the second Liturgy of King Edward the Sixth, and who would have gladly restored the first Liturgy of that reign. The compilers of the Service Book of 1637 followed the principles of this school, in drawing up the office for the Holy Communion; and, at the revision of the English Prayer Book in the reign of Charles the Second, changes were made in the same direction. A considerable number of those who left the communion of the established Church of England at the Revolution had a strong preference for the older forms; and, after some time, attempts were made to introduce them in their places of worship. This, however, was opposed by others, and the Nonjuring body became gradually divided into two parties—the supporters of the usages headed by Collier and Brett, and their opponents, of whom the most distinguished was Spinckes.

In the year 1718, when the dispute ran high among the English Nonjurors, both parties applied to the Scottish prelates for their advice and opinion. Bishops Rose and Falconer declined to give any formal determination, but recommended unity and mutual forbearance, and employed Thomas Rattray,

one of the most learned members of their communion, to draw up proposals for reconciling their differences. Bishop Rose expressed his individual opinion in a letter to Falconer, written in May of the year above mentioned. "For my own part," he said, "seeing so much stress laid upon these usages, I am very desirous of farther information, being resolved, God willing, if I find them strictly necessary, to embrace them, with all the disadvantages that may attend them; if only lawful, someway useful, or desirable, prudence in such case, and in such cases only, ought to be consulted." Bishop Falconer, as already mentioned, entertained a much stronger opinion in their favour; and, for many years back, and before any disputes arose in England, had used the mixed cup, and consecrated according to the form in the Scottish Liturgy. A few days before the date of Bishop Rose's letter, just referred to, he had thus written to that prelate:—"I have reason to believe that those primitive usages, the restoring of which is so much laboured by these pious and learned persons, were indeed apostolical; they being delivered to us by men who contended for the faith once delivered to the saints, some of whom sealed that faith with their blood, who lived near the fountain-head, who, under God, were the conveyancers of the Holy Scriptures to posterity, and who themselves also were indued with charismata. These qualifications state them most veracious and unexceptionable witnesses; and, to think otherwise, is, in my opinion, to sap the foundations, even to shake the credibility of the blissful Scriptures themselves, and of the Church, the ground and pillar of truth. Hence it will follow that the restoration of them is most desirable; the rather that Catholic unity (which to procure when subsisting, and to restore when broken, is the indispensable duty of every Christian, chiefly of the governors of the Church,) cannot be established but on this primitive footing."¹

Soon after the consecration of Bishops Cant and Freebairn,

¹ Skinner, vol. ii. p. 622-628. This historian mentions that Irvine derived his strong opinions against the usages from Spinckes, with whom he became acquainted in the year 1715, when "his occasions had carried him up to London." The occasion thus vaguely alluded to was his imprisonment in the Fleet, for his share in Mar's insurrection. An account of Rattray's paper, and some extracts from it, are given in "Bishop John Falconer and his Friends"—*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. iii. pp. 29, 30.

an attempt was made by the opponents of the usages in Scotland to obtain their formal condemnation. A meeting of the Episcopal College was held at Edinburgh, in the month of December, which was attended by the six resident bishops, and by Gadderar, now on his way to Aberdeen: Lockhart also was present on the part of the trustees. According to Lockhart's narrative, both parties endeavoured to justify themselves by an appeal to the practice of the first ages of the Church; but he stopped them, mentioning that it was not his province to judge of such points, that he was directed in the king's name to recommend unity and harmony, that they ought to avoid everything which could give their adversaries a handle to calumniate them, and, for that purpose, that each individual among them should submit to the general voice of the College, the more especially as they could not oppose its authority without resisting that of the king. Falconer and Gadderar professed their loyalty to James, but declared that what they were doing had no concern with affairs of state. Lockhart answered that the consequences of their proceedings would affect both Church and State; and therefore he required them to proceed no farther in the matter till the king's pleasure should be known.

Falconer was disposed to acquiesce in the meantime; but Gadderar, a man of firmness and resolution, and no way inclined to give up his ecclesiastical rights, or to govern his conduct according to the bidding of any external authority, proceeded to his diocese, where he was well received, and soon acquired the confidence and support both of the clergy and the laity.

Alarmed by the state of matters in the North, the Episcopal College again met at Edinburgh, on the twelfth of February, 1723, and set forth an injunction, in name of a majority of their body, addressed to the clergy and laity of the Episcopal Church, warning all to shun those practices which had already been so dangerous to others, and requiring the clergy to subscribe a formula containing a promise not to introduce the objectionable usages—the Mixture in the Eucharistic cup and Prayers for the dead being specially mentioned. No express reference was made to the Invocation and the Oblation; and these indeed could hardly have been prohibited, since the

College declared that they had given permission to their scrupulous brethren to use the Communion Office according to the form in the Scottish Liturgy.

To this address an answer was drawn up by Rattray, entitled "Some Remarks on the circular letter of the Edinburgh Bishops." He objected to the opening words of the address—"Unto the Episcopal Church of Scotland, as well clergy as laity, the plurality of the College of Bishops, who have the inspection and superintendence of the said Church, send greeting." "This letter," he says, "is directed to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, as if there were or could be another Church in it, which is not episcopal; whereas, according to St. Ignatius, 'without these' (viz., the three orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons,) 'it is not called a Church.' And St. Cyprian's definition of a Church is—the people united to their priest, and the flock adhering to their pastor. From whence he infers—Therefore you ought to know that a bishop is necessarily in a Church, and that the Church exists in its Bishop. But it seems they have more favourable thoughts of our Presbyterian conventicles, so as to allow them to be Churches, though they may think them less perfect ones; otherwise there would have been no need for this distinction, and it would have been sufficient to have directed to the Church, or rather, in the plural number, Churches of Scotland, or to the Catholic Church which is in Scotland, according to the primitive manner; or rather to the presbyters and deacons and all the people of the Church of Scotland, which is more proper when the bishops write to the inferior clergy and people only; since the word Church includes the bishop himself. But this they did not perhaps like so well, because it is primitive; the very design of this letter being to discharge some of the primitive usages of the Catholic Church. They call themselves the plurality of the College of Bishops, who have the inspection and superintendence of the said Church. But how bishops at large, who have no title to any particular diocese or district in Scotland as not being canonically elected thereto, can have any superintendency over the national Church of Scotland, so as to challenge the obedience of the clergy and people, (since a national Church is made up of particular dioceses or districts, that is, of parti-

cular Churches, and of the particular bishops thereof as heads and principles of unity to the particular Churches,) it concerns them to shew from the nature of ecclesiastical government, or from any practice or precedent of the primitive Catholic Churches. A bishop at large may indeed perform episcopal acts in a vacant diocese, but cannot challenge the obedience of the clergy and people of that diocese antecedently to a canonical election. They will, perhaps, pretend to govern the Church of Scotland in common, as if it were only one district, and all of them equally bishops of it; but how will they reconcile this with the primitive Catholic maxim, that there can be but unus episcopus in una Ecclesia, which is a fundamental position of ecclesiastical government?"

In regard to the usages condemned by the College, Rattray stated that, though they had not ventured expressly to mention the Oblation and the Invocation, these also were objected to, notwithstanding the well known opinion of himself and others, that they were not merely of an indifferent nature, and to be left to the determination of the Church, but "necessary parts of the highest act of public Christian worship, and of divine appointment, as being instituted by Christ Himself, or by his Apostles, and by them delivered to the Catholic Church."

Neither Falconer nor Gadderar was present at the meeting in February. The latter was the person against whom its warnings were chiefly directed. The former, though anxious for peace, was opposed to the strong measures taken by the College. In a letter written to Robert Keith, then one of the presbyters of Edinburgh, he thus expressed himself:—"As long as governors hold to that golden rule, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, and in case of exoriant innovations endeavour, with a spirit of meekness, to deliver their flocks from those wrong thoughts which have impressed them, and taken hold of their passions, they act their duty. But if they do otherwise, their account is great; and temporising in favour of popular humour will not bear at the day when it will be examined whether they have pleased men or God. I know that some reckon nothing an imposition but affirmatives, but negatives, for ought I know, are also impositions; witness prohibiting the cup to the laity, forbidding the public worship

in the vernacular tongue, &c. I heartily wish my brethren had not grounded their manifesto on the reason of these usages being obsolete and antiquated, seeing this will stand in bar to all reformation of principles and practices that are inveterate and have long obtained. Geneva, and the numerous ecclesiastical foreign bodies, may full as reasonably plead this against Episcopacy, Liturgy, &c. It may be pleaded also by the majority of the Scottish nation now against many things which are helped to the better since the Revolution, and might have been boggled at as obsolete and antiquated by our people, who should be gently led into a due regard to their superiors, and not prescribe rules to them, which seems to be the cause of that great zeal which the bishops shew against the ancient usages."

Bishop Falconer was soon afterwards taken to his rest. He died on the sixth of July, leaving a name honoured and revered by all who had an opportunity of knowing his learning and worth, his humility and charity, and those other qualities in which he resembled the holy bishops of primitive times.¹

¹ Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 94-99. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 630-632. See also Stephen, vol. iv. p. 183-201, where the address and formula of the College, and the answer by Rattray, are given at length, the answer being copied from the original among Bishop Jolly's MSS. In "Bishop John Falconer and his Friends" (Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal, vol. iii. p. 78), there is the following contemporary notice of Bishop Falconer:—"He was a gentleman well born, being a descendant of the Lord Halkerton's family. He applied himself from his youth to the study of divinity. He was made Rector of Carnbee in Fife, and there married a daughter of the Lord Dunkeld, by whom he had two sons. He was afterwards most deservedly promoted to a higher station in the Church, and there he was obliged to exert his capacity, which he did with much wisdom and prudence; and which from his innate modesty he had till then endeavoured to conceal, except when his duty or character made it necessary. He was a gentleman endued with great meekness, moderation, and charity, with exemplary piety and great humility . . . of good natural parts and great learning. He always applied himself more particularly and closely to the study of the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the early Fathers, in both which he was a great proficient. From these he formed his principles; and his life and practice were as primitively Catholic as was his doctrine; and no outward difficulties did ever move him out of this road. He was calm, serene, and uniform, under the many pressures of very narrow circumstances, having no fortune to sustain him for many years before his demise, but what divine providence kindly afforded him from day to day. And indeed he needed the less, because he only desired and was well content with a little. He much lamented the disputes in religion, and the divisions of Christendom both at home and abroad, and the great decay of primitive doctrine, worship, discipline, government, and

Some of the trustees were desirous that still stronger measures should be taken against Gadderar and the supporters of the usages, and wrote to the Chevalier requesting his interference. Lockhart appears to have been frightened by the rumours which were prevalent among Presbyterians that the clergy were making advances to the Church of Rome, but he saw the absurdity of appealing to a zealous member of that Church to warn his subjects against the supposed errors; and James himself, either holding the same view, or reasonably apprehensive of increasing the disputes among his adherents by intermeddling with them, answered only in general terms. The bishops also, though at one time they came to the resolution of summoning Gadderar before them, finally adopted more moderate counsels. On the fourth of July, 1724, after a personal conference at Edinburgh, certain articles were drawn up, and signed by Bishop Gadderar on the one hand, and by the Primus, and Bishops Millar, Irvine, Cant, and Freebairn, on the other.

The following were the terms of the agreement:—"Bishop James Gadderar, whatever may be his sentiments concerning the Mixture, yet being most desirous to have the bond of peace and cement of unity with his brethren firmly established, makes the following concession and declaration:—First, That he is willing, whenever any occasion offers of communicating with his brethren, to receive the unmixed cup at their hands. Secondly, That he will not in his ministrations in any congregation mix publicly, and will use his best endeavours that all under his inspection shall walk by the same rule. Thirdly, And forasmuch as the Primus and the abovenamed bishops, his colleagues, have also permitted the Scottish Liturgy to such of the clergy as shall think fit to use it, therefore the said Bishop Gadderar declares and promises that he will not insist upon introducing any of the other ancient usages which have not been authorised and generally received in this Church; and that, to prevent any divisions in the Church, he will discharge the introducing them into the public worship within his district, unless the Primus and the rest of his brethren, in

practice: and he laid the melancholy state of the Church of Scotland very much to heart. In short, he was a man of a truly Catholic spirit, much beloved and respected by all who knew and had a relish of his virtue and piety."

a lawful convocation, shall see sufficient reason to order matters otherwise. Fourthly, The Primus and the other bishops abovenamed do grant their authority and commission to the said Bishop Gadderar to officiate as Bishop of the district of Aberdeen for the future—with this express condition, that he do not ascribe his officiating there to any delegation or substitution for any other person whatsoever, but only to the election of the presbyters, and authority of the bishops of this Church. Fifthly, Forasmuch as the above articles are designed merely to preserve and establish peace and unity in the Church, it is thought expedient that, for removing all mistakes and misrepresentations, the said Primus, Bishop Millar, Bishop Irvine, Bishop Cant, and Bishop Freebairn, now declare, as hereby they expressly declare, that nothing contained in the said articles shall extend, or be construed to extend, or imply, that they have approved of the Mixture, either in public or private administrations in the Holy Eucharist.”¹

The prudence and firmness of Bishop Gadderar had thus far been successful in maintaining the high liturgical doctrines, and the principle of ecclesiastical independence, for which the most zealous of the clergy and laity were contending. His many high qualities were appreciated, not only in the diocese of Aberdeen, but in all the northern districts. Since his coming from London he had ordained various presbyters and deacons for Murray; and, on the seventeenth of June, 1725, he was formally elected bishop by the clergy of that diocese, assembled in the college at Elgin.²

While the controversy in regard to the usages was going on, the Episcopal College had recommended the consecration of four additional bishops, and through Lockhart had obtained the consent of James. The persons proposed were Alexander Duncan, formerly minister at Kilbirnie, Robert Norrie, formerly one of the ministers of Dundee, James Rose, a brother of the late Bishop of Edinburgh, formerly minister at Monimail, and

¹ Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 100-124. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 632-634. MS. *Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland*, pp. 8, 33, 34. The fifth of the articles given in the text from the *Memoirs of the Episcopal Church* is omitted by Skinner.

² See deed of election of Bishop Gadderar, by the clergy of Murray, among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, not numbered in the Catalogue. See also *Scottish Magazine*, new series, vol. iii. p. 479-481.

John Ochterlonie, who had succeeded an uncle of the same name as minister at Aberlemno, and had kept possession of that church till the year 1716. None of them was distinguished by any particular fitness for the episcopal office; and the last-mentioned clergyman was so strong a political partizan, that Bishop Gadderar opposed his elevation, and even the Primus withdrew his consent to it. Bishops Duncan and Norrie were consecrated at Edinburgh, on the feast of St. James, 1724, by the Primus, and Bishops Millar, Irvine, and Freebairn. In consequence of the objections referred to, the consecration of Ochterlonie was postponed for some time; but on the twenty-ninth of November, 1726, he and James Rose were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishops Freebairn, Cant, and Duncan.

Immediately after the consecration of Bishops Duncan and Norrie, it was proposed to appoint the former to the superintendence of the diocese of Glasgow, and the latter to that of the counties of Angus and Mearns, and part of Perthshire. The Primus having insisted that this should only be done with the consent of the clergy and laity of those districts, Bishop Duncan was at once accepted, and settled accordingly; but a majority of the presbyters and a considerable number of the gentry of Angus and Mearns opposed the appointment of Bishop Norrie, wishing rather to have Dr. Rattray for their bishop. At a meeting of the Episcopal College, held in the beginning of winter in the year 1724, Dr. Rattray appeared in name of the remonstrant clergy, and the Earl of Panmure for the laity. On behalf of Bishop Norrie, there were produced the written approbation of the minority of the presbyters, and letters from the Earl of Strathmore and Lord Gray, as representing the laity.

The discussion which took place on this occasion is important, as marking the opinions held by the two parties into

¹ Bishop Duncan's deed of consecration, among the Papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, not numbered in the Catalogue. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. pp. 105, 111-117, 124, 329. MS. Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, p. 9. Skinner, vol. ii. pp. 642, 643. Wodrow, writing in May, 1711, mentions that, for two years before that date, the Presbyterian minister at Aberlemno had nobody to hear him, "because an intruder, Mr. Achterlony, who has an estate in the parish, hinders the people to hear him, and preaches to them." (Correspondence, vol. i. p. 223.)

which the Church was now divided. Lockhart, who was present, and who dreaded the effect which such a conflict would have on his master's interests, requested to be informed, in the first place, in whom the power of electing a bishop was lodged. Lord Panmure answered, with some warmth, that, by the legal establishment of the Church of Scotland, the right belonged to the dean and chapter; but, as such a right could not then be exercised, that the best method to follow was that of the primitive Church, where no bishop could be appointed to any diocese without the concurrence of the majority of the clergy, and the approbation of the people; and in this he was supported by the Primus, the Bishop of Aberdeen, and Dr. Rattray. Lockhart stated in reply that he highly approved of such a plan, in so far as due regard was to be given to the inclinations of the clergy and people, but that the point was not an essential one; that he revered the ancient Fathers of the Church, but did not think that future ages were to be bound in all respects by their example; and that under the present circumstances, and considering what daily occurred in the popular calls of Presbyterian ministers, he thought that the entrusting of the power to the clergy and people would not be expedient, especially as, by the legal constitution of the Church, the choice, properly speaking, did not belong to the dean and chapter, since they were obliged to elect the person nominated by the sovereign. He, therefore, thought that it would be necessary for the king to assume the power which belonged to him; but, in the present case, he was of opinion that the objections to Bishop Norrie should be considered by the College.

The meeting separated without coming to a decision. After some time, however, a majority of the prelates disallowed the votes of several of the remonstrant presbyters, and appointed Bishop Norrie to the superintendence of the district. This resolution was contrary to the opinion of the Bishops of Edinburgh and Aberdeen; but their opposition, and a claim which they made for a veto to the former as Primus and Metropolitan, were disregarded. Dr. Rattray protested against the appointment, and the clergy and people with whom he acted refused to acknowledge it.

In order to guard against such disputes in time to come,

James, by the advice of his trustees, intimated his wish to the Primus that, in future, both himself and those who acted for him in Scotland should be consulted before any particular district was assigned to a bishop.¹

Bishop Fullarton was advanced in years and of infirm health; and it became an important object with Lockhart and the other advisers of James to consider who was best qualified to succeed him as Bishop of Edinburgh and Primus. The appointment itself they proposed to settle by a direct nomination from their master, when a vacancy should take place. Bishop Irvine was at first fixed on as the fittest person; and, on his death, which occurred in November, 1725, they suggested either Bishop Cant or Bishop Duncan, and a letter to that effect was accordingly written by James. The party, however, among the clergy and the laity, which was not disposed to acquiesce in such injunctions, was increasing in influence and numbers, and, generally speaking, was identified with those who were favourable to the introduction of the usages. The presbyters of Edinburgh, learning that another consecration had been recommended by the Chevalier—that of John Gillan, a person of irreproachable life, of considerable ability, but, though not a young man, only recently promoted to holy orders—resolved to remonstrate against it. In this they were supported by Bishop Millar, who hitherto had on most occasions acted with the College party, but is said to have feared that the recommendation was preliminary to the appointment of Gillan as successor to the primacy, an office to which he himself aspired. In their remonstrance, the presbyters entreated the College of Bishops to lay hold of the present opportunity of recovering those rights of the Church which had been so much encroached upon since the Reformation; and they accused James of breaking the promise which he had made not to recommend any to the episcopate until after advising with the bishops. One of the leading Edinburgh clergy was Robert Keith. In a personal conference, Lockhart endeavoured to persuade Keith to abandon his opposition; and, when he found that his arguments produced no effect, he said that Keith and his friends were a set of factious

¹ Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. pp. 124-130, 147, 152, 324. See Dr. Rattray's Protestation in appendix, No. i. to his Essay on the Church.

priests who were serving the Covenanted cause, and who ought to change their black gowns for brown cloaks. Soon after this conversation, warrants were issued by the government for apprehending Lockhart, whose political intrigues had become known; and, to avoid imprisonment, he fled from Scotland, and sought refuge on the Continent.¹

The death of Bishop Norrie took place in March, 1727; and that of Bishop Fullarton in the end of the following month. The latter event, which had for some time been expected, led to open dissension between the two parties in the Church. The clergy of Edinburgh met on the fifth of May, on the summons of Andrew Lumsden, one of their number, who had received a commission from the late bishop to act as his archdeacon, and as constant moderator of the presbyters of the diocese. They elected Bishop Millar as their diocesan; and he was thereupon acknowledged by the Bishop of Aberdeen, and by Bishop Cant, not only as Primus, but as Vicar-general and Metropolitan. The other bishops, Freebairn, Duncan, Rose, and Ochterlonie, refused to sanction the election.

About the same time the clergy of the Mearns, and of parts of Angus and Perthshire, chose Dr. Rattray as their ordinary, who assumed the title of Bishop of Brechin, and was consecrated at Edinburgh, on the fourth of June, by the Bishops of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and Bishop Cant. Both parties soon afterwards proceeded to new consecrations. William Dunbar, who had been deprived in 1716 of the parochial cure of Cruden, to which he had been appointed subsequently to the Revolution, and Robert Keith, were consecrated at Edinburgh, on the eighteenth of June, by the Bishops of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Brechin. Dunbar had lately been elected bishop by the clergy of Murray and Ross, the previous election of Dr. Gadderar to the former of those dioceses having probably never been confirmed; and Keith was designed to be coadjutor in the see of Edinburgh. On the twenty-second of June, John Gillan and David Ranken, presbyters in Edinburgh, were consecrated in that city by Bishops Freebairn, Duncan, Rose, and Ochterlonie.²

¹ Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. pp. 119, 144, 232, 237, 271, 289, 310, 322-332. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 694.

² Bishop Dunbar's deed of consecration, among the Papers of the Episcopal

King George the First died on the eleventh of June, 1727.

This seems to be the fittest place for a brief account of an attempt which was made by some of the Nonjuring bishops, during the reign of the first Hanoverian sovereign, to restore the long interrupted communion with the distant Churches of the East.

In the year 1716, an Eastern prelate, Arsenius; Metropolitan of Thebais, was in England, for the purpose of soliciting alms for the suffering Christians of Egypt. Bishop Campbell had some conversation with him on the subject of a union of the Eastern and Western Churches, and afterwards made the matter known to his English brethren, most of whom were disposed to enter into the scheme.

Certain articles were drawn up in August, 1716, to be communicated to the Eastern Churches by Arsenius. They were entitled "A Proposal for a Concordate betwixt the Orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches, and the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church." Twelve preliminary points were laid down, the first two of which were, "That the Church of Jerusalem be acknowledged as the true Mother Church, and principle of ecclesiastical unity, whence all the other Churches have been derived, and to which therefore they owe a peculiar regard;" and "That a principality of order be, in consequence hereof, allowed to the Bishop of Jerusalem above all other Christian bishops." The third and fourth points related to the privileges of the Churches of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople; it being declared, in particular, that the Bishop of Constantinople should be acknowledged as possessing the same powers and privileges as the Bishop of Rome. The remaining points do not require special notice.

The British prelates next stated wherein they agreed, and wherein they could not agree, with the Eastern Church. It will be unnecessary to mention the points in which they agreed, these being, for the most part, such as were held either by all Christians, or by the English and Eastern Churches in oppo-

sition to Rome. The points in which they declared that they could not at present perfectly agree were the following :—

1. “ They have a great reverence for the canons of ancient general councils, yet they allow them not the same authority as is due to the Sacred Text, and think they may be dispensed with by the governors of the Church, where charity or necessity requires.

2. “ Though they call the mother of our Lord blessed, and magnify the grace of God which so highly exalted her, yet are they afraid of giving the glory of God to a creature, or to run into any extreme by blessing and magnifying her; and do hence rather choose to bless and magnify God for the high grace and honour conferred upon her, and for the benefits which we receive by that means.

3. “ Though they believe that both saints and angels have joy in the conversion of one sinner, and in the progress of a Christian, and do unite with us in our prayers and thanksgivings, when rightly offered to God in the communion of the Church; yet are they jealous of detracting from the mediation of Jesus Christ, and therefore cannot use a direct invocation to any of them, the ever-blessed Virgin herself not excepted, while they desire nevertheless to join with them in spirit, and to communicate with them in perfect charity.

4. “ Though they believe a divine mystery in the Holy Eucharist, through the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements, whereby the faithful do verily and indeed receive the Body and Blood of Christ, they believe it yet to be after a manner which flesh and blood cannot conceive; and seeing no sufficient ground from Scripture or tradition to determine the manner of it, are for leaving it indefinite and undetermined; so that every one may freely, according to Christ’s own institution and meaning, receive the same in faith, and also worship Christ in spirit, as verily and indeed present, without being obliged to worship the sacred symbols of his presence.

5. “ Though they honour the memory of all the faithful witnesses of Christ, and count it not unlawful in itself to assist the imagination by pictures and representations of them, and their glorious acts and sufferings, yet they are afraid of giving thereby, on one hand, scandal to the Jews and Mahometans, or, on the other, to many well-meaning Christians: and they

are moreover apprehensive that, though the wise may be safe from receiving any damage by a wrong application, yet the vulgar may come thereby to be ensnared, and be carried to symbolize too much with the custom of idolaters without designing it; to prevent which, they therefore propose that the ninth article of the second Council of Nice, concerning the worship of Images, be so explained by the wisdom of the bishops and patriarchs of the Oriental Church, as to make it inoffensive, and to remove the scandal which may be occasioned by a direct application to them."

These proposals were first communicated by Arsenius to the Czar Peter, who, since the extinction of the patriarchate of Moscow, was the virtual head of the Russian Church. By him they were favourably received, and transmitted to the four Eastern patriarchs. A synod was held at Constantinople in April, 1718, which was attended by Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople, the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, and other prelates and clergy. By this synod, an answer was drawn up, and sent to Arsenius for transmission to the British bishops, by whom it was received in the end of the year 1721, or the beginning of the following year, through the Archimandrite Gennadius, and James, the Proto-synellus of the Church of Alexandria. In their answer, the Eastern prelates maintained that the true faith, lost by Papists and Luther-Calvinists, was to be found among the Oriental Christians alone, and refused to make any change in the order of the patriarchal thrones; and, in regard to the disputed points of doctrine and ritual, they adhered to their own practice, and condemned the opinions of the British bishops.

Before this answer was received, the disputes regarding the usages had led to a separation among the English Nonjurors, and Bishop Spinckes and his friends declined to take any farther share in the negotiation. A meeting was held in May, 1722, at which the Scottish bishops, Campbell and Gadderar, and the English bishops, Collier and Brett, were present. These prelates sent a long reply to the Eastern patriarchs, explaining their own opinions, and defending themselves from the charge of Luther-Calvinism. Concerning the five points in dispute, they supported their views by arguments drawn from the Holy Scriptures and the primitive Fathers, and con-

cluded in the following manner :—" And thus having represented the difference between us, we are now to suggest a temper, and offer a compromise. If our liberty is left us therefore in the instances above mentioned ; if the oriental patriarchs and bishops will authentically declare us not obliged to the invocation of saints and angels, the worship of images, and the adoration of the host ; if they please publicly and authoritatively, by an instrument signed by them, to pronounce us perfectly disengaged in these particulars, disengaged we say, at home and abroad, in their churches and in our own ; these relaxing concessions allowed, we hope, may answer the overtures on both sides, and conciliate an union. And we farther desire their patriarchal lordships would please to remember that Christianity is no gradual religion, but was entire and perfect when the Evangelists and Apostles were deceased ; and therefore the earliest traditions are undoubtedly preferable, and the first guides the best. For the stream runs clearest towards the fountain-head. Thus whatever variations there are from the original state, whatever crosses in belief or practice upon the earliest ages, ought to come under suspicion. Therefore, as they charitably put us in mind to shake off all prejudices, so we entreat them not to take it amiss if we humbly suggest the same advice. We hope therefore their lordships' impartial consideration will not determine by prepossessions, or by the precedents of later times, but rather be governed by the general usages and doctrines of the first four centuries, not excluding the fifth, than think themselves unalterably bound by any solemn decision of the East in the eighth century, which was even then opposed by an equal authority in the West. And thus, presuming both parties will hold the balance even, and not wish for truth but prove it, we are not without expectation of advancing so far towards uniformity as may make up the unhappy breach, and close the distance between us. And to release their patriarchal lordships, we take leave, with our most earnest prayers that the allwise and merciful God, who makes men to be of one mind in an house, who is the author of peace and lover of concord, may graciously please to continue their benevolent wishes, animate their zeal, and direct their measures, for finishing so glorious a work ; that the orthodox Oriental

Church and the Catholic remnant in Britain may at last join in the solemnities of religion, and be made more intimately one fold under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord and Saviour, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen."

The bishops wrote at the same time to Arsenius, thanking him for his zeal, and to the council for ecclesiastical affairs at St. Petersburg, requesting their assistance, and the continued co-operation of the Czar. Answers were sent to these letters by Arsenius, and by the Russian governing council, in which, by desire of the Czar, they requested the bishops to send two English clergymen to Russia, in order that a personal conference might be held as to the points in dispute. A synodical answer to the last paper of the bishops was also sent by the eastern prelates, in which they declined to depart in any respect from the principles formerly laid down. This answer was dated at Constantinople, in September, 1723, and was signed by Jeremiah, Archbishop of Constantinople, and oecumenical Patriarch, Athanasius, Patriarch of Antioch, Chrysanthus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Metropolitan of Heraclea, and the Bishops of Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Nice, Chalcedon, Thessalonica, Prusa, Polypolis, and Varna. The British prelates were about to comply with the request to send two clergymen to Russia, when the negotiation was interrupted by the death of Peter the Great. His successor, the Czarina Catherine, seems to have wished that the proceedings should be carried on, but nothing farther was done.¹

¹ In regard to the correspondence between the Nonjuring bishops and the Eastern Church, I have consulted a manuscript copy of the correspondence in the Scottish Episcopal Church Library at Edinburgh. Reference may be made to Skinner, vol. ii. p. 634-639; Lathbury's *History of the Nonjurors*, p. 309-358; and Mouravieff's *History of the Russian Church*, English Translation, pp. 286, 287. Mouravieff evidently did not understand who the "Anglican bishops" were, who corresponded with the Eastern patriarchs and the governing synod. A similar attempt on the part of the Archbishop of Utrecht to effect a union with the Eastern Church was broken off by the death of Czar Peter; see Neale's *History of the Jansenist Church of Holland*, p. 269, 270.





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